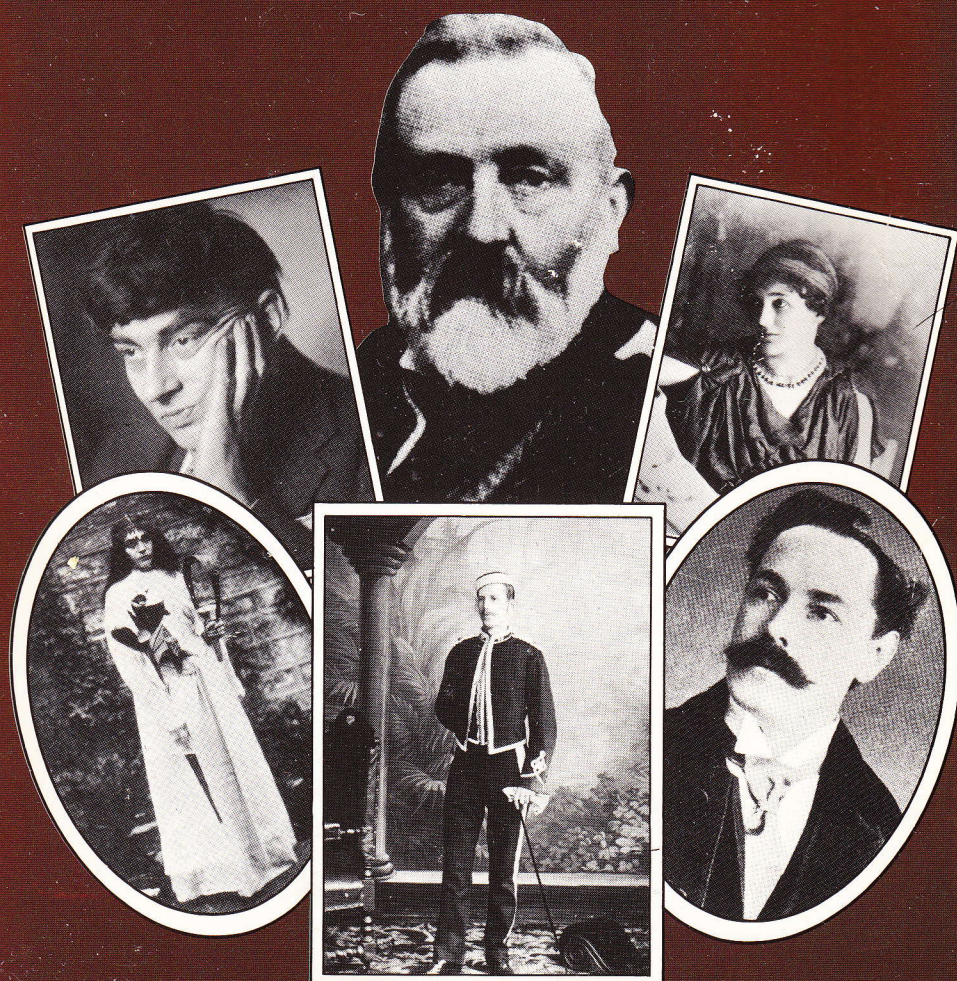


THE MAGICIANS — OF THE — GOLDEN DAWN

A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923



ELLIC HOWE

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn

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The Alchemist of the Golden Dawn
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The Magicians of the Golden Dawn

A Documentary History of a
Magical Order

1887-1923

* * *

by

Ellic Howe

with a Foreword by

Gerald Yorke



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Contents

* * *

<i>Introduction</i>	ix
<i>Foreword by Gerald Yorke</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xxiv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxxix
I <i>Suspect Documents</i>	I
2 <i>The Rosicrucian Society of England</i>	26
3 <i>The Three Chiefs</i>	34
4 <i>The Golden Dawn in the Outer 1888-96</i>	45
5 <i>Some Initiates</i>	61
6 <i>The Second Order</i>	75
7 <i>The Second Order Diaries 1892-3</i>	91
8 <i>Magical Operations</i>	104
9 <i>Uneasy Relationships 1893-6</i>	110
10 <i>The Petition</i>	139
11 <i>The Magical Progress of Frederick Leigh Gardner</i>	145
12 <i>Complications Galore</i>	159
13 <i>Before the Crisis 1897-9</i>	187
14 <i>Rebellion in London</i>	203
15 <i>The Battle of Blythe Road</i>	219
16 <i>The Interregnum</i>	233
17 <i>The Stella Matutina</i>	252
18 <i>All Ends in Confusion</i>	273
<i>Postscript</i>	284
Appendix I <i>Cypher MS.—First Leaf of Neophyte Ritual</i>	286
II <i>The Practicus Adeptus Minor Curriculum</i>	288
III <i>W. B. Yeats (Demon Est Deus Inversus)</i>	290
IV <i>The Second Order's Membership Roll</i>	292
V <i>Mathers's Ahathoor Temple at Paris</i>	295
VI <i>Short List of Mottoes</i>	296
<i>Index</i>	299

Illustrations

* * *

PLATES

Between pages 20 and 21

- I A leaf from the Golden Dawn Cypher MS.
- II Cypher 'message' revealing Fräulein Sprengel's alleged address at Stuttgart
- III Fräulein Sprengel's first letter to Dr Westcott
- IV The Golden Dawn's Charter

Between pages 148 and 149

- V (a) the first entries on the Isis-Urania Temple's parchment membership roll
- (b) the signatures of Annie Horniman and W. B. Yeats on the same document
- VI S. L. MacGregor Mathers in the uniform of an artillery lieutenant, c. 1882
- VII (a) Florence Farr
- (b) Allan Bennett
- VIII Greetings card mocking the Golden Dawn, published after the Horos trial, 1901-2

FIGURES

	<i>page</i>
1 Cabbalistic Tree of Life diagram	xv
2 Key to the Golden Dawn cypher alphabet	11
3 The symbols on each wall of the Vault of the Adepts	83
4 Poster announcing the loss of the MS. of <i>The Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage</i>	171
5 Mrs Mathers's line drawing for the title-page of <i>The Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage</i>	179

Introduction

* * *

FOR JOHN HAMILL

When the first edition of this book was published in 1972 I thought that I had come to the end of an essentially antiquarian exercise. In the Preface I explained that 'my aim has been to investigate the origins, organisation and, above all, the internal history of a representative Magical sodality. Here were people engaged in extraordinary activities. I wanted to know who they were, what they did and how they reacted to situations which were unusual, at least by normal standards.' By and large I answered my own questions and hoped that this book's publication would help to answer those asked by others who, like myself, had been puzzled by the hitherto vague or incomplete accounts of the Golden Dawn's origins and later history. I was careful, however, to emphasise that I had not attempted to describe or explain the Order's rituals or magical teachings at any great length because the material was available to the extent of more than a thousand pages in Dr Israel Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*, and because I lacked the necessary technical qualifications.

I had, then, been concerned with what I supposed to be a purely historical phenomenon. It is true that Mr Francis King had told me of, or rather hinted at, the existence of a post-1945 Golden Dawn Temple in London, but I inferred that its existence had been brief. In any event it never occurred to me that the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn would be revived, and upon an apparently ambitious scale, under Dr Regardie's auspices in the USA about a decade later. However, I surmised that the Golden Dawn might perhaps not be as dead as a dodo when I received a mildly hysterical letter from Mr Gerald Suster, a young man with whom I had a slight acquaintance, in December 1983.

In this communication he announced the recent publication of Dr Regardie's *What You Should Know About The Golden Dawn* (Falcon Press, Phoenix, Arizona, USA; distributed in the United Kingdom by Thorsons Publishers Ltd), to which he had contributed a chapter. 'Should you choose to read it,' he wrote, 'you will discover an attack

upon your work and your approach to the subject. This attack was as scathing as I could make it. We are engaged in an ideological controversy; you have slighted the Golden Dawn and I have slighted you and no apology for this is required.'

Enlightenment was available when I read Dr Regardie's book, which is a facsimile reprint of the second edition of his *My Rosicrucian Adventure* (1971), with the addition of a Foreword by Mr Christopher S. Hyatt, a new Introduction by Dr Regardie and Mr Suster's chapter. From Mr Hyatt I learned of the formation of the Israel Regardie Foundation, 'a national headquarters for research and preservation of the Golden Dawn'; furthermore that 'All those who make donations of \$100.00 or more will receive a free collector's edition of *What You Should Know About The Golden Dawn*, and be invited to attend the opening of this significant event' at an undisclosed location in the USA in mid-1984. Furthermore, according to Mr Hyatt, 'we see the seeds of a loving and growth orientated system dedicated to the high goal of *Becoming More Than Human*'. Thus close on a century after its creation the Golden Dawn is about to be institutionalized, and this, I predict, will be its final death sentence.

Dr Regardie's Introduction was largely devoted to an attack upon myself. 'I reviewed . . . *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* [in *Gnostica News*, 21 January 1974] in as derogatory a way as I possibly could, since I smelled prejudice and ridicule on every page [my italics].' On every page? Dr Regardie exaggerated because to the best of my knowledge my book only contained six lines which could be construed as being critical of the Golden Dawn. In the Preface I wrote: 'In many respects this is a "mad chronicle", at least if judged by conventional norms; but then we are dealing with unconventional people. It will serve no useful purpose if I constantly draw attention to the story's intermittent psychopathic qualities. My task is not to sit in judgment upon my Magicians but, rather, to provide the material for an unusual case history.' In fact I offered no more and no less than a straightforward documentary history of an interesting psychological and sociological phenomenon and without the expression of any particular personal opinion.

Mr Suster's contribution was not as 'scathing' as I anticipated it might be. A few of his remarks about myself were intended to be offensive, but no matter. His attempts at textual criticism were laborious and inconclusive, probably because he had no new material upon which to base them. Finally he advised me to perform the Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram daily for six months and to record

the results. 'I have done this myself and experienced improvement on every level of my life,' he wrote.

What both Dr Regardie and Mr Suster dislike, I believe, is that I do not affirm that the Golden Dawn's teachings have any spiritual content. As far as my examination of the original Golden Dawn and its early successor Orders is concerned, perhaps both Dr Regardie and Mr Suster should have ignored it. After all, why publicise a book which, almost entirely on the basis of documentary evidence, demonstrates that the old Golden Dawn can hardly be described as a 'loving and growth orientated system'?

Ellic Howe
January 1984

Foreword

* * *

by
Gerald Yorke

The Magicians of the Golden Dawn is a fascinating cautionary tale for all who try to develop their latent magical powers without using the protective techniques still taught in all the major religions. From it we see how the majority of those who attempt to tread the occult path of power become the victims of their creative imagination, inflate their egos and fall. It took only fifteen years for the Golden Dawn to splinter into fragments. Now that its rituals, Flying Rolls and secret books of instruction have been published, it is becoming once more the inspiration of a mushroom growth of aspiring Magicians, most of whom in their turn are riding for a fall.

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (G.D.) with its Inner Order of the Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold (R.R. et A.C.) was the crowning glory of the occult revival in the nineteenth century. It synthesised into a coherent whole a vast body of disconnected and widely scattered material and welded it into a practical and effective system, which cannot be said of any other occult Order of which we know at that time or since.

The three vital rituals which one of its founders, MacGregor Mathers, wrote, were those for initiation into the Outer and Inner Orders and the Corpus Christi ceremony. In the first the candidate was led from darkness into light and undertook 'to prosecute with zeal the study of the occult sciences, seeing that this Order is not established for the benefit of those who desire only superficial knowledge thereof'.

The ceremony of admission to the Inner Order of the Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold was based on the myth of Christian Rosenkreuz. In it the candidate swore 'that with the Divine permission I will from this day forward apply myself to the Great Work, which is to purify and exalt my Spiritual nature, that with the Divine aid, I may at length attain to be more than human, and thus gradually raise and unite myself to my Higher and Divine Genius and that in this event I will not abuse the Great Power entrusted to me'.

In the Neophyte ritual ($0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$) the danger lies in omitting from the oath any reference to the purposes to which the powers resulting from the successful practice of these occult sciences should be put. The Second or Inner Order ($5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$) Obligation is far more dangerous, because unless specific precautions are taken, which they were not, the magician soon begins to imagine that, being more than human, he is God, instead of remaining a servant of God.

The third vital ritual, which took place annually on the day of Corpus Christi, is admirable throughout. The Chief Adept in each Temple, clad in the black robe of mourning and with the chain of humility round his neck, was bound to the black Cross of Suffering in the Vault of the Adepts. There he invoked the Great Avenging Angel Hua 'to confirm and strengthen all the members of this Order during the ensuing revolution of the Sun; to keep them steadfast on the path of Solitude and Self-sacrifice; and to confer upon them the power of discernment that they may choose between the evil and the Good, and try all things of doubtful or fictitious meaning with knowledge and sound judgment'.

After being released from the Cross and re-robing he again invoked Hua, this time 'to strengthen and establish the Members of this Order in their search for the Mysteries of Divine Light, to increase their spiritual perception and enable them to rise from their selfhood, which is nothing, unto that highest Selfhood which is God, the Vast One'.

Unfortunately humility was not in Mathers's nature as is shown by the mottoes that he took: 'S Rioghail Mo Dhream (Gaelic for 'Royal is my tribe') and Deo Duce Comite Ferro. Moreover the history of the Order shows that too many members failed conspicuously 'to try all things of a doubtful and fictitious nature', while Mathers himself fell for the wiles of the adventuress Swami Vive Ananda, who also called herself Madame Horos, and persuaded him that she was in touch with the Secret Chiefs.

As can be seen from the curriculum for the projected grade of Practicus Adeptus Minor, $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ (see Appendix II, p. 288), the system created by Mathers that had to be mastered by members of the Inner Order was formidable. Some idea of what it was all about can be got from a brief synopsis of his interpretation of the qabalistic diagram of the Tree of Life and a description of the furniture of the private Temple in which a Magician of the R.R. et A.C. worked.

The diagram of the Tree of Life represents the Universe as understood by the Jews before science altered their mode of thought.

Both its date and its origin are unknown since it formed part of their esoteric tradition. It consists of ten spheres or circles joined by twenty-two Paths. God is not shown, for He is incomprehensible. By mathematical analogy, however, God is zero, which the Qabalists symbolised by a trinity of Nothing (*Ain*) or the infinitely small, Without Limit

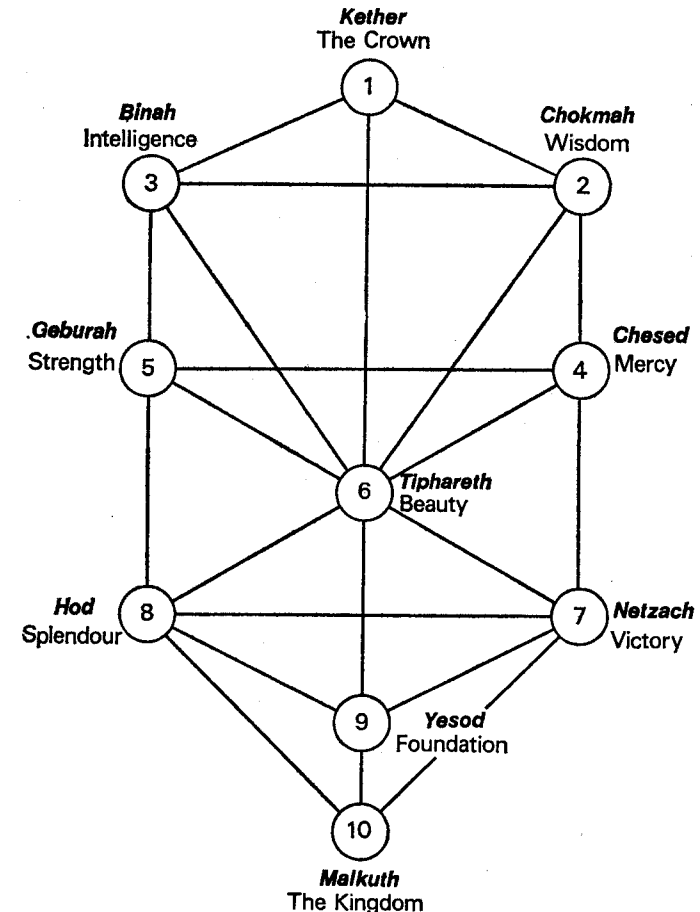


Figure 1 Cabbalistic Tree of Life diagram

(*Ain Soph*), or space bereft of qualities and Limitless Light (*Ain Soph Aour*). These are the first steps by which the Unknowable approaches the known.

This Limitless Light concentrates into a centre or point of focus called the Crown (*Kether*), which is the top sphere in the diagram.

Mathematically it corresponds to the number 1, in geometry to the point. It is the first aspect or emanation of God that is even partially comprehensible to the human mind. With the two spheres below and to each side it makes a trinity of 'Supernals', *Kether* representing the archetypal (*atziluth*) and the other two the creative (*briah*) worlds. Similarly with numbers, 1 is followed by 2 and then by 3, while from the point proceeds the line, the angle and the triangle.

The next six spheres or emanations represent the world of formation (*yetzirah*) and lead to the tenth or last sphere, the Kingdom (*Malkuth*) which is the material world (*assaiah*), as we know it. In number this corresponds to 10 which represents the return to unity by the reintroduction of zero, while the geometrical figure is the double cube, which when opened out becomes the calvary cross of twelve squares.

Each of these ten *Sephiroth* represents a 'thing in itself', a positive idea or entity, the nature of which is defined by the totality of correspondences assigned to it. Thus the god Thoth, Hermes, the arch-angel Michael, twin serpents, opals, storax (balsam), violet-purple, truthfulness, an octagon and the number 8 are all different facets of the idea represented by the *Sephirah* of Splendour (*Hod*). In this way the mathematical nakedness of each prime idea is clothed in a many-coloured network of correspondences with every department of thought.

The ten spheres are connected by twenty-two Paths, to each of which is attributed a different letter of the Hebrew alphabet. They do not represent primary things in themselves, but secondary combinations derived from the *Sephiroth* which they connect and their place on the Tree. Each represents a planet, a sign of the zodiac, or one of the elements like fire, water, etc., together with a whole hierarchy of corresponding ideas.

This diagram is an indispensable *memoria technica* of the pre-scientific world in and with which the Magician works. By reference to it he ensures that for any ceremony the colours, incense, symbols and ritual are appropriate to whatever he is invoking. With it he can check whether his visions are founded in reality, whether in fact he has penetrated the archetypal world which is his province, or merely lost himself in the 'Abyss of Chaos' on the way.

Finally it is a map of man's return from whence he came. There are two ways back: the slow one by following the 'path of the Serpent' that winds round the Tree, and the direct one up the central pillar or trunk. For the latter Mathers taught an effective meditation for

rising in the imagination direct to *Kether*. Of the further ascent into Limitless Light and beyond nothing can be said.

So much for the basic theory; now for the magical practice. By choosing a circle within which to work the Adeptus Minor in the Inner Order of the R.R. et A.C. affirms both his identity with the Infinite and the limitation implied by his oath to perform the 'Great Work'. The symbolism with which he decorates the circle announces the nature and object of the ritual in question and so varies with the occasion. The proportions, however, remain fixed, since they are personal to him—it is his circle—and they are based upon the size of the altar, a double cube the top of which is level with his navel.

Round the circle in Hebrew characters are the four great names of God used in the banishing ritual of the pentagram: IHVH, ADNI, AHIH and AGLA. Traditionally they protect the Magus within his circle, although in fact they need consecrating before they can do so. This is done in the banishing ritual, part of which is designed to activate the forces represented by these names.

Within the circle is a Tau cross of ten squares, for 'ten are the Emanations of Unity'. Each square represents one of the Sephiroth and is painted in the correct colour of the Queen scale. For some ceremonies other crosses would be more appropriate. The three diamond-shaped lozenges coloured from the King scale represent the 'Triangle of the Universe' which escribes the cross. By their shape they suggest the *yoni* thus balancing the *lingam* of the cross.

On the top of the altar is a design known as the Macrocosm of Vitruvius. The human figure in it is Adam Kadmon, the second person in the qabalistic triad whose body is the Universe. His limbs are arranged to form a pentagram instead of the more usual saltire cross. The zodiac, planets and four primary elements formed from and part of his body are specifically indicated by the varied colouring of the concentric circles which form part of the design.

On the sides of the altar are painted the four Tablets of the Watch Towers of the Universe in the Enochian system of Dr John Dee. That of air faces east, water west, earth north and fire south. They are coloured respectively in the King, Queen, Emperor and Empress scales. The lettering is in Enochian script. Above each tablet is the sigil of the elemental King concerned. These four kings are called in Enochian: Tahaoeloh, Thahebybeetan, Thahaotahe and Ohooo-haatan. The Tablets of the Watch Towers with the small Tablet of Union, which is not needed here, are a mnemonic key to the Enochian

system. The large ones are not easy to memorise, so that it is convenient to have them permanently on the side of the altar.

Within the altar are kept all the accessories used in the rituals except the lamp. The holy consecrated oil of Abramelin is a symbol of the Magus' aspiration. It is a compound of the oils of myrrh, cinnamon and galangal dissolved in that of olive. Its subtle perfume soon fills the room.

The smoke of the incense is the gross vehicle of that aspiration, for it is in the smoke that the Magus sees—or imagines—the figure of the spiritual being that he has invoked. The incense itself is the prayer without which no invocation can succeed. The ingredients vary with the type of being sought.

The incense is burned in a brazier on charcoal kindled into a glow by the breath of the Magus. The brazier should stand in the east of the circle on an altar of open brass-work in which the metals of Venus and Jupiter have been fused into an homogeneous alloy. It symbolises divine love.

The scourge, dagger and chain suggest the sacrifice of penance. The first is to keep the aspiration of the Magus keen; the second to remind him that he will have to sacrifice all that he has and is before he can accomplish the Great Work; and the third, the chain, is to keep his thoughts from wandering.

The wand is his will. There are four of them, each decorated with symbols suitable for different types of ceremony. The lotus wand should be of almond wood. The twelve bands of colour on the stem are those of the signs of the zodiac, while on the top is a lotus bloom, symbol of the unfolding of nature and of spiritual growth. It should be held by the band of the colour appropriate to the occasion.

The sword is his reason, his power of critical analysis, to be used against the demons of doubt. He wields it in the preliminary banishing ritual, replacing it within the altar before commencing his invocation.

The cup is his understanding, his link with the spiritual on the passive side, so he offers up his blood in it. It is also a vehicle of grace and when he drinks from it he partakes of a sacrament.

The bell represents that peculiar state of awareness without which one is not conscious of the presence of a spiritual being. The Magus therefore strikes it at the climax of the ceremony.

The lamen or talisman, if one is to be consecrated or charged, is retained in the circle or placed in the triangle outside according to the nature of the force with which it is to be charged.

The pantacle is the body of the Magus, the temple of the spirit of God. It is the material basis of the sacrament of regeneration by

means of which he is reborn as a spiritual being. The design on it varies with the nature of the being sought.

The robe is the silence and secrecy in which the Magus works. It varies in accordance with his grade in the Order and with the nature of the operation. The crown that he wears represents the attainment of that work. It consists of a gold band with three pentagrams in front and a hexagram at the back. The band is the circle of perfection; the three pentagrams are the celestial triad in whatever system he is using, while the hexagram is the Magus himself. Round the band is twined the uraeus serpent with erect head and expanded hood. It is the symbol of royalty and initiation, for the Magus is both king and priest.

Such was the official R.R. et A.C. teaching, which was usually modified in practice. Mathers, however, did not countenance the making of pacts with qliphotic or demonic forces, nor did he permit the use of sex in any form. Owing to the nature of his temperament he gave a pagan, Egyptian twist to the whole system. Instead of working through and in the name of the deity of the force invoked, he preferred to inflame himself with prayer and become whatever it might be. Thus when his pupil Allan Bennett ('Iehi Aour') consecrated a talisman to protect Dr Felkin ('Finem Respice') from obsession, he invoked in turn the 'Spirit of Osiris Triumphant'—'the Divine Self' of Frater Finem Respice—and the archangel 'Mikhael who art like unto God'. But he then went on to address 'this creature of talismans' thus: 'I travel upon High, I tread upon the Firmament. I raise a Flame with the Flashing Lightning of Mine Eye. I fly forward in the splendour of the Daily Glorified Ra. Thou art Myself, Mine Image, My Shadow. I have fashioned Thy Form. I have fashioned Thy Soul. I have made Thee a Creature of My Thought. Powerful art Thou for ever against the Larvae that possess.'

It was the same with the ritual that Mathers wrote for members to attain the knowledge and conversation of their 'Higher Genius' or *augoeidēs*, which equates with the *daimōn* of Socrates and the Philemon of C. G. Jung. Mathers based it on *Papyrus XLVI* (Greek) in the British Museum. Full of 'barbarous words of evocation', a number of which are corrupt transliterations from spoken Egyptian to written Greek, it begins: 'Thee I invoke, the Headless One. Thee that didst create the Earth and the Heavens.' Then later: 'I am He, the Bornless Spirit . . . I am the Grace of the World. The Heart girt with the Serpent is my name.' Finally he declaimed: 'All Spirits of heaven, earth, air and water and every spell and scourge of God are obedient unto me.' This normally results in an inflated ego.

Mathers showed his near genius in other ways. He reduced the incoherent mass of Dr John Dee's papers and diaries in the British Museum and the Ashmolean at Oxford into a coherent and valid system of Enochian magic. This was worked by members of the Inner Order and survives today in the Order of the Cubic Stone. Unfortunately Dee, like so many members of the G.D., showed little discrimination over the often childish manifestations in the 'show-stone' or crystal produced by the creative imagination of his scriber or medium, Edward Kelley. The system has a hierarchy, language and alphabet of its own and is far too complicated for summary here.

Mathers, whose talents were varied, then went a stage further by inventing Enochian chess, a four-handed game played on a three-dimensional board. The book of rules in my possession is one of the Order's still unpublished manuscripts. It is said that once when Mathers, his wife and W. B. Yeats wanted a game, Mathers chose a spirit for his partner. Shading his eyes and gazing at the empty chair opposite he made the opening move with his partner's piece. Like his pupil Aleister Crowley he sometimes indulged in the glamour of being a Magus.

Mathers resurrected from a corrupt manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Arsenal at Paris another magical system with a hierarchy of its own which he called The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage. It involved some six months of solitary ritual and meditational work to attain the 'Knowledge and Conversation of the Holy Guardian Angel'. After that the adept could safely consecrate some forty-nine talismans which gave him 316 'servitors'. Since it was probably Hebrew in origin the Magician did not himself become a guardian angel as in the more dangerous Egyptian ritual mentioned earlier, so Mathers published it. The only member of the Order known to have tried it out was Aleister Crowley, but he consecrated the talismans before he had experienced the 'knowledge and conversation'. There is some evidence that a few of them worked, although not always. They have all survived, a missing one being found in his pocket book after he died.

Some of the other subjects in the curriculum were astrology, the Tarot, numerology, geomancy, the adoption of god forms, scrying in the 'spirit vision' and travelling on the 'astral plane'. A certain amount of glamour was included, especially in the practice for becoming invisible. This did not mean that you vanished, but that people did not notice that you were there. Needless to say Crowley claimed to have played the trick successfully.

Whether the members of the Order meddled with the Shells (Qliphoth); followed their aspirations by learning from the relevant spiritual beings the secrets of the thirty 'aethyrs' from Tex to Lil, or whatever it might be; practised the assumption of god forms or travelled on the 'astral plane' to the planets or to each other, they enlarged their knowledge of the universe and themselves. But to what end?

Why did it take only fifteen years for the Order of the Golden Dawn to splinter into quarrelling fragments? The simple answer is that it was founded on a fraud. The founder of the Outer Order was Dr William Wynn Westcott, a London coroner who was a Theosophist, a Freemason, and a member of the High Council of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. He was no Magician but a kindly scholar of all things occult. His character is revealed by the mottoes that he chose: 'Sapere Aude' (Dare to be wise) and 'Non Omnis Moriar' (I will not altogether die). Now he had already fallen for the glamour of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's 'Mahatmas' and for the myth of the Secret Chiefs which haunts most modern Rosicrucians. Needing a Secret Chief for his own Order he invented one: Sapiens Dominabitur Astris or Fräulein Sprengel, and gave her an accommodation address in Germany. He then caused five short letters from her to be forged. One of them authorised him to sign her motto on the Charter for his Isis-Urania Temple.

That the Order got off the ground at all was due to the near-genius of another member of the High Council of the Soc. Ros., namely S. L. MacGregor Mathers, and the excellence of the rituals that he wrote up from the cypher notes in the possession of Westcott. Then, since he was a born Magician, he created and Westcott agreed to work the Inner Order of the Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold (R.R. et A.C.). Its rituals and secret books of instruction flowed red-hot from his creative imagination.

Too canny to commit himself to Westcott's mythical Fräulein Sprengel in Germany, he claimed to have forged his own link with the 'Secret Chiefs' of whom, he wrote, 'I can tell you nothing. I know not even their earthly names. I know them by certain secret mottoes.' These may have been Lux Saeculorum, Lux Benigna and Lux in Coelis, who head the list of members on the original parchment roll of the R.R. et A.C. (see Appendix IV). The first numbered entry is for Sapiens Dominabitur Astris, the mythical Fräulein Sprengel, with an imaginary date of entry. After meeting one of them he described his experience thus: 'The sensation was one of being in

contact with so terrible a force that I can only compare it to the *continued* effect of that usually experienced momentarily by a person *close* to whom a flash of lightning passes during a violent storm; coupled with a difficulty in respiration similar to the half-strangling effect produced by ether.'

This delusion spread through the Order like the plague. Miss Annie Horniman ('Fortiter Et Recte') staked her claim to what she called the 'Purple Adept' and said that she was the real head of the Order. Florence Farr ('Sapientia Sapienti Dona Date') and her 'Sphere Group' were controlled by 'a certain Egyptian astral form' first contacted through a piece of his mummy case—or so F. L. Gardner ('De Profundis Ad Lucem'), who was a member of her group for a time, once told me. Then when J. W. Brodie-Innes ('Sub Spe') was trying to form a splinter group of his own he promoted himself to be a Deputy Archon Basileus, 'as commissioned by the Third Order, or not to make any ambiguity in words, from those Higher Adepts whom I so term'.

Dr R. W. Felkin ('Finem Respice'), who founded the Stella Matutina after the break with Mathers in 1900, fell in turn for the 'Sun Masters' and then for Ara Ben Shemesh, whom he described as 'a discarnate Arab [with a] Temple in the Desert where the sons of Fire live . . . [they are] in personal communication with the Divine and are no longer bound in the flesh so that their material life is a matter of will.' When in 1918 the Arab moved on out of touch to a 'Higher Plane', Felkin forged a link with 'our Father in God C.R.C. [Christian Rosenkreuz] himself, who gives instructions from time to time through Members who are clairvoyant and clairaudient to such an extent that they are able to receive them.' C.R.C., now the 'Lord of Light', was expected to manifest on the material plane before very long, the date being given first as between 1926 and 1935 and finally as 1937. Felkin seems to have been protected from direct obsession by the talisman consecrated for him by Allan Bennett in 1898, but it could not prevent him from believing in the fantasies of his female adepts.

A. E. Waite ('Sacramentum Regis') was one of the members of the Inner Order who kept his head. When he somewhat unexpectedly took charge of the Isis-Urania Temple in 1903 he refused to have any truck with 'Secret Chiefs' whether in or out of the body. He reorganised the G.D. by rewriting the rituals in a more Christian form and discouraged the practice of Magic. As a result his Order lost much of its appeal and he closed it down in 1914.

The most powerful Magician to be trained in the original Order was probably Aleister Crowley ('Perdurabo'). He broke with Mathers in 1904 as a result of getting in touch with his own Secret Chiefs. We only know the name of one of them, Aiwaz. Crowley described him as a 'praeter-human intelligence' who dictated to him by direct voice *Liber Legis*, the Book of the Law (of Thelema), which was to replace Christianity.

The Golden Dawn had given birth to its first pseudo-Messiah. No more need be said.

Preface

* * *

First a disclaimer: I am neither an Occultist nor a 'Magician'. This book is a by-product of a long-standing interest in the modern (mainly post-1820) history of the persistent survival of ancient Hermetic beliefs, e.g. Astrology, Alchemy, Cabbalism, Ritual Magic, etc. This period, covering the last 150 years, has scarcely attracted the attention of historians of ideas since it offers few prospects of academic laurels. Apart from that objection, the literature is so vast, not to mention indigestible, the ramifications so bewildering, that the whole area resembles an almost impenetrable jungle.¹

In this book I offer a study, mainly based upon unpublished documents, of a now famous Magical Order, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, whose heyday was during the 1890s, although various successor Orders survived until much later.² My aim has been to investigate the origins, organisation and, above all, the internal history of a representative modern Magical sodality. Here were people engaged in extraordinary activities. I wanted to know who they were, what they did and achieved, and how they reacted to situations which were unusual, at least by normal standards. I have not attempted to describe or explain the Order's rituals or magical teachings at any great length because this material is available to the extent of more than a thousand pages in Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*.³ In any case I lack the necessary technical qualifications.

¹ For an excellent preliminary map of the terrain see James Webb, *The Flight from Reason* (vol. 1, *The Age of the Irrational*, 1971; vol. 2, *The Battle for Reality*, in press). Mr Webb throws new light upon the historical continuity of occult beliefs and the enduring presence of an occultist 'underground' which rejects the prevailing Establishment *Weltanschauung*.

² Today there are at least two British Temples which perpetuate the G.D. tradition and claim an apostolic succession from the original Order. See Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England: 1887 to the Present Day*, 1970. This book indicates an inside knowledge of contemporary magical groups.

³ Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn: An Account of the Teachings, Rites and Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Dawn*, 1st ed., 4 vols, 1937-40; 2nd ed., 4 vols in 2, Llewellyn Publications, Saint Paul, Minnesota. The current demand for this book reflects the recent increase of interest in the G.D. and Ritual Magic.

The detailed study of the principles of Ritual Magic as set forth in the complete G.D. system requires as much application as any academic discipline might demand. I had no desire to acquire this particular knowledge.

The G.D. has achieved an almost legendary reputation for two reasons. Students of English literature rightly infer that W. B. Yeats's membership of the Order—he joined it in 1890 when he was twenty-five years of age—had a notable influence upon his imaginative and poetical development. Students of occultism, on the other hand, suppose that the G.D. represents a particularly authoritative source of magical knowledge and instruction. I am not concerned with the question of 'authority', but believe that the Order's synthesis of Hermetic knowledge and practical magical techniques was a unique phenomenon. Nothing like it had ever existed in the past.

No previous magical or occult fraternity had offered (a) a comparable instruction in magical theory and practice, allied with (b) a complicated and therefore intriguing hierarchical system and (c) a series of nine rituals which effectively incorporated the Order's elaborate symbolism.

In the G.D., then, we encounter an important reservoir of 'hidden knowledge' based upon an ingenious construction of arbitrary relationships between different symbolical systems, e.g. the Cabbalistic Tree of Life, astrology, alchemy, the Tarot trumps and so on. During the 1890s the Order represented the equivalent of a Hermetic University, with an exacting series of examinations leading to the equivalent of a post-graduate degree in the Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade. This synthesis was mainly the creation of Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918), an extraordinary man by any standard of assessment.

It is unimportant that Mathers's ingeniously devised synthesis of 'correspondences' between a variety of symbolical systems, e.g. the Cabbala, astrology, alchemy and the Tarot, was empirical and the product of his own incredible imagination. What is significant is that he, and to a lesser extent Westcott, introduced people to a world of symbolism, of 'archetypes' if one has a preference for Jungian terminology, which must have been completely unfamiliar to most when they encountered it for the first time. Yeats recalled that it was mainly through Mathers that he began certain studies and experiences that were to convince him that images well up before the mind's eye from a deeper source than conscious or subconscious memory.¹

Those who joined the G.D. during the 1890s had access to a store of

¹ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, p. 227.

'hidden' or 'rejected' knowledge—some of its departments belong to what some people claim to be 'the Perennial Wisdom'—that had no contemporary counterpart in the west. It was certainly far more elaborately codified than anything the Theosophical Society could offer. To that extent the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, as devised by Mathers and Westcott, was impressive.

In many respects this is a 'mad' chronicle, at least if judged by conventional norms; but then we are dealing with unconventional people. It will serve no useful purpose if I constantly draw attention to the story's intermittent psychopathic qualities. My task is not to sit in judgment upon my Magicians but, rather, to provide the material for an unusual case history.

It is significant that the G.D. emerged during the late 1880s when there was a noticeable expansion of interest in occultism. There was something like an underground explosion. Its waves can be charted in Great Britain and France; they did not reach Germany until rather later. The explosion itself was hardly noticed by the Establishment, but it was felt by many who were no longer satisfied with conventional religious beliefs. The influence of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's Theosophical Society was notable in this context. It is true that a candidate for admission to the G.D. had to acknowledge his or her belief in the existence of a 'Supreme Being' but the old pagan gods, in the shape of Planetary Spirits, were welcome providing that they could be correctly invoked; however, the G.D.'s magic was white, not black.

The G.D. first aroused my curiosity in 1961 when I read A. E. Waite's autobiography *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938. It contains two long references to the Order, which he joined in 1891. Here were the broad outlines of a strange story, but written so tortuously that one was not much the wiser. I began to make notes from other sources but put them aside because all provided much the same information, although there were many discrepancies and gaps.¹

¹ In chronological order of publication I consulted: 'The Temple of Solomon the King', articles in Aleister Crowley's elaborate periodical *The Equinox*, I, ii, iii, 1909–10; W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926 (particularly for S. L. MacGregor Mathers); Israel Regardie, *My Rosicrucian Adventure*, Chicago, 1936 (this contains a useful condensed summary of the G.D.'s teachings, also the author's negative impressions of the Order of the Stella Matutina during the 1930s; new and revised edition in preparation); Aleister Crowley, *The Book of Thoth*, 1944; John Symonds, *The Great Beast*, 1951 (biography of Aleister Crowley; new and greatly enlarged edition 1971). Much later I used 'Inquire Within' (pseud., i.e. Miss C. M. Stoddart), *Light-bearers of Darkness*, 1930; *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, and Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England: 1887 to the Present Day*, 1970.

I did not return to the Golden Dawn problem until the autumn of 1969 when my friend Mr Gerald Yorke generously lent me his collection of the G.D. correspondence and other documents preserved during the 1890s by Frederick Leigh Gardner, who was a member of the Order and in close touch with its founders. Mr Yorke's material was invaluable but much was clearly missing.

While working on Mr Yorke's collection during 1970 I often wondered if yet another cache of G.D. papers had survived. There was fragmentary evidence which suggested that additional material might be hidden away somewhere. Eventually it occurred to me to make a short list of wills for inspection at Somerset House. A few weeks later I met the owner of a collection of documents which transformed my own situation because here were many of the pieces necessary for at least the partial completion of a complicated jigsaw puzzle.

In due course, but not on the occasion of my first visit, I was shown two large cardboard boxes. I learned that it was unlikely that their contents had been inspected more than once or twice, and then only perfunctorily, during a period of close on fifty years. I was told that it was supposed that the papers had some connection with the late Aleister Crowley, therefore by inference with 'Black Magic'. Hence the material was presumably disreputable. However, when I roughly sorted the documents I found no more than a single letter written by Crowley in March 1900 and its contents were innocuous. After an hour or two I was able to assure the gentleman that there was nothing in the collection that could conceivably be described as offensive.

I asked for access to the material. There was a brief delay during which, I suppose, a few discreet enquiries were made about me. Eventually I was given permission to use the archive but subject to one important condition: I was asked to undertake not to reveal particulars of either its ownership or location. I gathered that it would be inconvenient and time-consuming to receive a flow of applications from occultists and others asking for facilities to inspect the papers. When I had finished with them they would be returned to the strong-room whence they came.

It was inopportune to raise objections because the conventions of scholarship require that the provenance of documents must be clearly stated. I concluded that any obstinacy on my part would merely lead to my own last sight of the cache, so I agreed to respect the owner's wishes. Thus, where necessary, the term 'Private Collection' refers to this source.

The history of the G.D. cannot be reconstructed like that of a club or society which has preserved its minute books and correspondence. I have had to use letters and other documents that have survived entirely by chance, but the general pattern of events can be established.

This book contains a record of the affairs of a small and for the most part obscure group of people. If it needs any particular justification I can only suggest that their interests and preoccupations were distinctly unusual.

POSTSCRIPT

On 29 November 1971, three months after the manuscript of this book was delivered to my publisher, a friend introduced me to a gentleman who is the custodian of certain documents which were formerly in the possession of A. E. Waite. These include: 1. a bound volume containing MS. rituals and, most important, a list of the members, with their addresses and mottoes, of all the G.D. Temples between March 1888 and September 1897; 2. a parchment roll with the names, signatures and mottoes of the London Isis-Urania Temple members between March 1888 and January 1910. The list may be incomplete after c. 1903. Both were lent to me, once again on condition that neither their location nor ownership be disclosed.

Next, on 13 December 1971 the same benefactor lent me a parchment roll containing the mottoes and dates of promotion from the First to the Second Order of members of the R.R. et A.C. between 1888 and 22 January 1910. This document, which contains a number of curious anomalies, is described in Appendix IV.

The unexpected availability of this material made it possible for me to make a few last-minute corrections and additions to my own manuscript before it was sent to the printer.

Acknowledgments

* * *

My debt to Mr Gerald Yorke is immense. Besides lending me his important collection of Golden Dawn documents he patiently answered numerous questions both in London and at his home in Gloucestershire, read my manuscript three times and agreed to contribute a Foreword. Many have experienced his generosity, but perhaps few in quite the same measure as myself.

I am greatly obliged to Herr Oskar R. Schlag (Zürich) for his painstaking textual and graphological analysis of the 'Fräulein Sprengel' letters. Others who helped with this problem and to whom I offer my grateful thanks are Dr med. A. J. Bonk (Titisee), Dr med. Karl R. H. Frick (Bochum-Stiepel), Mr C. Pels (Velsen, Holland) and Mr B. Croiset van Uchelen (The Hague).

Mr Francis Hilliger, a distinguished British graphologist, kindly examined and commented upon various specimens of Dr W. Wynn Westcott's handwriting.

I am grateful to the following friends who loaned material or helpfully discussed various matters: Mr Nicolas Barker, Miss C. M. Cherrill, Mr Owen Dudley Edwards, Mr Gerald Gough, Professor Josephine Johnson (University of Miami), Mr Francis Xavier King, Dr Israel Regardie, Miss Kathleen Raine, Mr John Semken, Mr Geoffrey Watkins and Mr James Webb.

For the use of copyright material I have to thank Mr John Symonds, Aleister Crowley's literary executor; Rider & Co. (A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938); Macmillan & Co. and Michael B. Yeats (W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926); Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd and Michael B. Yeats (*The Correspondence of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade, 1954); Victor Gollancz Ltd (Maud Gonne MacBride, *A Servant of the Queen*, 1938); Britons Publishing Co., successors to Boswell Publishing Co. ('Inquire Within', *Light-bearers of Darkness*, 1930); Llewellyn Publications, Saint Paul, Minnesota (Dr Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn: An Account of the Teaching, Rites and Ceremonies*, etc., 1969).

Acknowledgments

The Board of General Purposes of the United Grand Lodge of England kindly gave me access to a collection of letters written to F. G. Irwin and preserved in the library at Freemasons' Hall. My thanks are also due to Mr A. R. Hewitt, the Librarian and Mr T. O. Haunch, the Assistant Librarian.

I hope to be forgiven for not individually naming the many city, county and other librarians who searched in old directories on my behalf. As so often in the past I am indebted to old friends at the Warburg Institute, University of London, and at the London Library.

Finally I must thank my neighbour Mrs Josephine Street for singularly generous help with photography.

I

* * *

Suspect Documents

At this stage I shall do no more than tell the traditional story of the origins of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. In 1887 Dr William Wynn Westcott, a London coroner whose private interests were occultism and Freemasonry, acquired an apparently ancient manuscript written in a cypher. He found the key and made a transcription. This revealed the fragmentary outlines, written in English, of five mystical or pseudo-Masonic rituals. He invited his friend Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, also an occultist and a Freemason, to expand the material found in the Cypher MS. so that the rituals could be performed.

Among the leaves of the Cypher MS. Westcott came across a sheet of paper on which were written the name and address of a certain Fräulein Sprengel, an eminent Rosicrucian Adept who lived in Germany. Now aware of a connection between this lady and the rituals he wrote to her and received a reply. She authorised him to found an English branch of a German occult Order called 'Die Goldene Dämmerung', i.e. The Golden Dawn. This led to the establishment of the Isis-Urania Temple of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in London in 1888. Westcott invited Mathers and Dr W. R. Woodman, yet another occultist Freemason, to join him as Chiefs of the new Temple.

Hence the salient features of the G.D. saga are the Cypher MS., Fräulein Sprengel and the Isis-Urania Temple's link with a German occult Order.

Until recently, when I found about sixty sheets of the Cypher MS. in the Private Collection, the only known copy of the cypher text belonged to A. E. Waite, who died in 1942. After his death this manuscript was acquired by a friend of mine, who told few people that he owned it because he did not want to be pestered by occultists. He kindly allowed me to make a Xerox copy and I was familiar with its contents before I discovered the Private Collection.

Waite's speculations about the date and provenance of the original Cypher MS. in *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, were based upon the textual analysis of his own copy. He had joined the Golden Dawn in 1891 and had known Westcott, Mathers and Woodman. He had obviously seen the manuscript, which was no doubt temporarily in his possession when his own copy was made for him by a professional scribe, perhaps during the early 1900s.

He mistrusted the alleged antiquity of the Cypher MS. He was also unsure of its source. However, he was convinced that it must have been a very recent production. There was material drawn from ancient Egyptian texts, but scholars had been unable to read the hieroglyphs until J. F. Champollion deciphered them in c. 1822. Then there were the allusions to the supposed correspondences between the twenty-two Paths of the Cabbalistic Tree of Life and the twenty-two Major Trumps of the Tarot pack. For this hypothesis the earliest known source was Eliphas Lévi's *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*, which was published as recently as 1856. Waite's conclusion was that the ritual notes must have been written after 1870.

A minor discovery of my own appears to confirm this suggestion. Facing p. 616 in K. R. H. Mackenzie's *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia*, 1877, there is an extraordinary table of so-called Rosicrucian grades. In this there is a column of 'Brotherhood Names', e.g. Pereclinus de Faustis, Porajus de Rejectus, Monaceros de Astris, etc. In the cypher notes for the Zelator grade there is a short sentence which reads: 'I name you Pereclinus Faustis.' It appears tolerably certain that the author of the Cypher MS. found 'Pereclinus de Faustis' in Mackenzie's book, decided that it sounded impressive and used it in the Zelator grade. I have not been able to find the name in any earlier English work.¹

In *Shadows of Life and Thought* (p. 218), Waite mentioned the paper used for the Cypher MS.

Now the G.: D.: depended for its Warrants [i.e. authority] on certain notes of Rituals in English, jotted down in an occult alphabet, the source of which is to be found no further off than the British Museum. Its concealed authors possessed also or contrived to secure a small sheaf of rag paper in large

¹ Mackenzie wrote that his table of grades had 'never before been published . . . and the statements therein are derived from many sources of an authentic character, but have never been collected before.' However, he translated the complete table directly from Magister Pianco [i.e. Hans Heinrich von Ecker und Eckhoffen], *Der Rosenkreuzer in seiner Blösse*, 1781. Hence this earlier book could have been the source although it seems unlikely.

quarto, bearing the watermark of 1789; and so long as this lasted they made their notes thereon, almost obviously with intent to deceive. When the leaves failed they used other paper, as nearly like as may be.

He was wrong about the watermark date. Most of the paper used for the Cypher MS. is from the same making and about half a dozen leaves have an 1809 watermark. The sheets are small rather than large quarto. A muddy shade of brown ink was used to make it appear as if the manuscript was old. Waite continued (p. 219):

There are three explanatory hypotheses which can be advanced concerning the Ritual Notes: (1) that the concealed authors may have been Westcott and Woodman, with whom Mathers collaborated after they were fabricated; but I knew all the people concerned and I am utterly assured that the invention was beyond their scope; (2) that they came into the hands of these persons by purchase from an unknown source; or were received either from the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who compiled a considerable part of Kenning's *Cyclopaedia of Freemasonry*, or from Kenneth Mackenzie, who wrote up a similar production a little later on; (3) that if so received or alternatively picked up at a bookstall—as one of the stories goes—they may have been (a) the inventor's first draft of a projected Rite or (b) the jottings of a Member made for his private use, being summary notes of Ceremonies witnessed by himself. They are in any case vestiges of an unfinished scheme, breaking off at the Grade of Philosophus, which ends the First Order, as then formulated.

It is impossible to deduce from the manuscript who made the 'summary notes of Ceremonies' and this mystery may never be solved. A detailed analysis of the contents of the Cypher MS. would not interest the general reader. However, judging by the scanty nature of the available material Mathers used both his imagination and his ingenuity when he composed rituals that could actually be performed. A single instance will suffice to show Mathers's inventiveness. In the Theoricus ritual one brief sentence in the Cypher MS. reads: 'H[iero-phane] recites prayer of gnomes.' Mathers recalled the 'Oraison des Sylphes' in Lévi's *Dogme et rituel* (vol. 2, chap. 4) and translated it.¹

¹ For Mathers's rendering see Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, 1969, vol. 2, p. 89. It can also be found as 'The Prayer of the Sylphes or Air Spirits' in A. E. Waite's translation of Lévi's book: *Transcendental Magic*, 1896, paperback 1968, p. 229.

Waite's summary of his conclusions, written about forty years after he joined the Order, regarding the origin of the G.D. and the authenticity of its so-called Warrant or Charter, reflects his own scepticism. It will be noted, however, that he was inclined to accept the G.D.'s 'remote German connections'.

On the balance of probability, I conclude—with almost utter detachment over the whole subject (1) that the G.D. Ritual Notes were produced well after 1870—perhaps even ten years later; (2) that they were not the work of Westcott, Woodman and Mathers; (3) that it is unsafe to challenge their remote German connections . . . ; (4) that the original Isis-Urania Temple may have started work in London with the tacit recognition of the fact on the part of some not dissimilar Institution existing previously in Germany; (5) that it was never authorised officially; (6) that it was not under any German or Continental Obedience; (7) that it was not responsible to anything but its own official Headship; (8) that a pretended Warrant which was exhibited to Neophytes was no better than a solemn mockery; (9) that the Rite laid claim, by implication or otherwise, on remote antiquity; (10) that it was to this extent a mountebank concern; (11) that it was described invariably as governed by a Triadic Headship; (12) that when Dr Woodman passed away the vacancy caused by his death was never filled, to the expressed and unexpressed dissatisfaction of several older members (p. 225).

Hence there was something fishy about the whole thing, but whatever it was could not be easily pin-pointed. During the Order's heyday in the 1890s nobody can have asked searching questions about the Cypher MS., Fräulein Sprengel or the Warrant. Again, since occultists are not the most sceptical of mortals, it may not have occurred to most members of the Order that some bits and pieces of the traditional G.D. 'story' did not fit together.

Mathers's accusation, which arrived out of the blue in February 1900, that Westcott had 'forged or caused to be forged' the letters he claimed to have received from Fräulein Sprengel, came like a thunderclap. Mathers said, too, that Westcott had pledged him years ago to secrecy before showing him 'what he had either done or caused to be done'. Hence if Mathers's reproaches were true he, too, had been party to a conspiracy.

Waite recalled that 'the answer of Westcott to this charge did not admit of its accuracy but pointed out—in almost tremulous terms—that his witnesses were dead and that he would therefore remain neutral'. And Mathers, Waite added, 'being brought to book on the subject, refused absolutely and unconditionally to justify his statements'. In 1900, therefore, the credibility of many cherished beliefs, not to mention that of the Order itself, was strained to the utmost.

A committee of enquiry was set up to investigate all the circumstances that led to the foundation of the G.D. in 1887–8. It achieved little because neither Westcott nor Mathers could be summoned for cross-examination. Westcott did not offer to produce the letters. He was asked to make the Cypher MS. available and gave a rather half-hearted consent, but whether the committee ever had it is uncertain. Not that its members would have learned much from it.

I found the original 'Fräulein Sprengel' letters in the Private Collection, some of them briefly annotated in Westcott's handwriting. It is impossible to say when they reached this archive, but Westcott may have given them and some other documents, including the Cypher MS. and the Isis-Urania Temple's Warrant, to a senior member of the Stella Matutina, one of the G.D.'s successor Orders, before he migrated to South Africa in October 1919.

The unexpected discovery of the letters led to a detective operation. In view of the allegations of forgery it was necessary to subject six documents, written in German and purporting to be of German origin, to a searching examination. Four more, all in English, were also put aside for careful inspection. These papers are described below in their alleged chronological order. I have used the word 'alleged' with intention. It is most unlikely that the German letters either originated in Germany or were written by a German. Everything points to their being fabrications. Hence two dated and two undated documents in English also had to be regarded as suspect. As for the two with dates, it must be remembered that letters, etc. can be falsely dated for purposes of deception.

1. *Dr Westcott's memorandum of a conversation in February 1886 with the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford.* The latter was an elderly parson who was a well-known Masonic author and journalist. Westcott recorded that Woodford told him about the Cypher MS. and hinted that he might later give it to him.

Woodford died on 23 December 1887. Westcott was planning his G.D. 'operation' during the early months of 1888. The memorandum

could have been written shortly after Woodford's death in order to provide circumstantial evidence.

2. *A copy in Westcott's handwriting of a letter from Woodford dated 8 August 1887.* This letter is supposed to have been sent to Westcott together with the Cypher MS. It is important because it (a) proposes a connection between the Cypher MS. and a 'Rosicrucian' Order called 'The Golden Dawn'; (b) mentions an elderly lady called Soror Sapiens Dominabitur Astris who lived in Germany; and (c) infers that Westcott should consult her about the implication that possession of the Cypher MS. might confer certain privileges.

On this copy Westcott wrote: 'Mathers has original in the Box at the office.'

It is necessary to question even this apparently innocent statement, because in the absence of the original letter there is the possibility that the document might have been fabricated.

3. *A 'message' written in the cypher alphabet.* Together with the Cypher MS. I found a sheet of old paper that had been used by someone (a) to reveal that Soror S.D.A. and Fräulein Sprengel were the same person, and (b) to provide an accommodation address for her in Germany.

This document may have been inserted into the Cypher MS., meaning that it does not belong to the rest of the manuscript.

4. *Five letters, etc., all in the same handwriting, written in German.*

They are supposed to have been written on behalf of Soror S.D.A. by her secretary, a certain Frater 'In Utroque Fidelis'. Westcott is alleged to have received them between November 1887 and March 1890.

5. *Another letter, also in German, but in another handwriting, signed by 'Ex Uno Disce Omnes'.*

It was alleged to have been written at Dahme on 23 August 1890 and stated that Soror S.D.A. had died on 20 July.

6. *Isis-Urania Temple Warrant.* Soror S.D.A.'s signature appears on this undated document.

Together with the German documents, I found English translations in Westcott's handwriting.

For the examination of the German papers I had the invaluable help of Herr Oskar Schlag of Zürich, an eminent graphological and suspect documents specialist. His report, dated 14 March 1971, contains fifty-three numbered paragraphs and a summary of his conclusions.

In Herr Schlag's opinion all the German documents are textually suspect because no one born and educated in Germany would have written such jargon. Orthographical and grammatical errors abound, not to mention frequent anglicisms which no German would have used. Herr Schlag ironically remarked that it was strange that Fräulein Sprengel's close associates in Germany both appeared to be of British nationality. The gentleman who wrote to say that she had died was uncertain of her sex. He referred to 'our learned friend' and used '*unseres*' (our: masculine) instead of '*unsere*' (our: feminine).

The textual evidence suggests that Westcott organised a series of faked documents in order to give the impression that the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn derived its authority and status from an enigmatic German source. My assumption is that Fräulein Sprengel/Soror S.D.A. was a mythical person and that he invented her. There does not seem to be any reasonable alternative.

There were historical precedents for legendary characters such as Soror S.D.A. In the annals of Freemasonry there are the Secret Chiefs (Superiores Incogniti) introduced by Baron von Hund (1722-76) to add lustre to his 'Strikte Observanz' German high-grade Masonic system. However, I do not believe that Westcott had them in mind when he concocted Fräulein Sprengel. It is far more likely that the source of his inspiration was Madame Blavatsky's mysterious and invisible Mahatmas, the Masters Morya and Koot Hoomi, the messengers of a hidden Occult Brotherhood, whose letters to her literally appeared out of thin air, or so many believed.

The impact made by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's Theosophical Society and teachings during the late 1880s is now hardly remembered, but Westcott would have been very conscious of it. A. P. Sinnett's *Occult World*, published in 1881, not only gave a fascinating account of her occult activities in India but created a widespread interest in circles ready for an alternative to spiritualism, which was beginning to lose its novelty. Thus when Madame Blavatsky settled permanently in London in May 1887 she was already well known, even notorious. Her presence brought many new recruits to the Theosophical Society: W. B. Yeats was one of them. Thus if Westcott did, in fact, obtain possession of the Cypher MS. in August 1887, very soon after her arrival in London, it was at a time when there was more public interest in occultism than there had ever been in the past. This combination of circumstances may have put a number of ideas into his head.

Madame Blavatsky's brand of occultism, with its *mélange* of Buddhist and Hindu elements, as well as much taken from old Euro-

pean sources or simply 'thought up' by H.P.B. herself, would have interested Westcott but it did not persuade him to apply for membership of the Theosophical Society. He was steeped in the western Hermetic, Cabbalist tradition. My inference is that his Golden Dawn 'plan' originated in the supposition that there was room for a more exclusive, hence secret, alternative to the Theosophical Society. The T.S. was open to all who wished to join it, therefore the door leading to the G.D. must be closely guarded. In this context it should not be forgotten that Westcott had for many years been a Freemason.

In some respects Westcott's Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was a by-product of his connection with a Masonic 'Rosicrucian' fraternity called the Rosicrucian Society of England, also known as the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, or more familiarly as the Soc. Ros. Membership was confined to Master Masons. It was not a Masonic Lodge but an esoteric society of Freemasons who were interested in occultism, the Cabbala in particular, and Masonic symbolism. The early history of the Soc. Ros. is discussed in the next chapter. Some of the original male members of the G.D. were recruited from it.

In 1886 Westcott was the secretary of its Metropolitan (i.e. London) College and both he and Mathers were members of its High Council. Their friend Dr Woodman, who was also to become a Chief of the G.D., was the Society's Supreme Magus or Head. K. R. H. Mackenzie, whose name is mentioned in the document printed below, had previously been a member but had resigned. He claimed to be a Rosicrucian initiate and to have a profound knowledge of occultism. The Rev. Adolphus F. A. Woodford, who may have possessed the Cypher MS. and then given it to Westcott, was not a member of the Society, although the latter hoped to persuade him to join it.

The first of the documents that has a bearing upon Westcott's Golden Dawn scheme is a memorandum in Westcott's handwriting headed: 'Note of a conversation with A.F.A.W. Feb. 1886'. The existence of the Cypher MS. is now revealed.

I having pressed him to join the Soc. Ros. in Ang. he said he would some day, but he did not care much for it, he knew that they could not add to his Rosic[rucian] knowledge, because he had in his possession some real Rosic. MSS. in cypher, a whole series of degrees, but not yet the whole of the Rosic. system and that he had once shown K. R. H. Mac[kenzie] a sheet of them, and also some translation and K. R. H. Mac expressed ignorance of it and wonder . . . Some day, said W.,

I may give them away or perhaps to you. I cannot use them.

The Cypher translates into English, yet they came to me from a correspondent in France with a history that they had passed through Levi's hands and indeed a loose page among them has a note signed A.L.C.

I cannot understand why Woodford supposed that the Cypher MS. was in any way 'Rosicrucian', unless he was referring to the 'whole series of degrees'. Nor were these 'Rosicrucian' except that their numeration may have reminded Woodford of something rather similar in Mackenzie's *Royal Masonic Cyclopædia*, 1877, i.e. the curious table of grades facing p. 616 in the article on 'Rosicrucianism'.

The suggestion that Eliphas Lévi (i.e. the Abbé Alphonse-Louis Constant, 1810-75) once had the Cypher MS. at least gave it a notable provenance. Lévi was the most renowned latter-day expositor of magical lore and had achieved an almost legendary status. He had been in London in 1854 and again in 1861 and had contacts with British occultists; but Lévi knew very little English and if he ever had the Cypher MS. it would not have meant much to him. I was unable to find the page with the initials A.L.C.

The question remains whether this is a true record of a conversation or a later fabrication. I cannot decide.

Woodford is supposed to have sent the Cypher MS. to Westcott, together with a letter, in August 1887. I have already mentioned that the original letter has not survived and there is only the copy in Westcott's handwriting on which he wrote: 'Mathers has original in the Box at the office'. This document contains a number of anomalies.

6 Liston Road, Grafton Square,
Clapham Road. 8 August 1887

Dear Br. Westcott,

With this I send MSS. under seal, which I promised, in cypher. It confers upon the possessor who understands the meaning to grant the old Rosicrucian secrets and the grades of Hē [h]eōs chrusē; or Golden Dawn. Try to see old Soror 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' in Germany. She did live at Ulm. Hockley now being dead I know of no one else who could help you.

Yours sincerely,
A. F. A. Woodford

There is nothing in the Cypher MS. which implies that anyone who understood its meaning was entitled to grant 'the old Rosicrucian

secrets and grades'. Again, why did Woodford so vaguely refer Westcott to the elderly Soror S.D.A. who once lived at Ulm? The implication is that he had never seen the sheet of paper with the cypher text which identified her as Fräulein Sprengel with an accommodation address at Stuttgart.

If Kenneth Mackenzie had still been alive—he died on 3 July 1886—he would have been better able to help than Frederick Hockley, who died on 10 November 1885, because he knew German extremely well and even claimed to have received a German 'Rosicrucian' initiation. Finally Woodford died on 23 December 1887 and with his death no further enquiries, convenient or otherwise, were possible.

There are two possible hypotheses: (a) The copy of Woodford's letter was genuine and not faked by Westcott. Next, Woodford knew or had heard about someone who used the motto 'Sapiens Dominabitur Astris' but was unable to give Westcott any precise information. Finally, if Westcott tried to trace Soror S.D.A., he failed to do so and then invented an 'identity' for her as 'Fräulein Sprengel'. Alternatively (b) Westcott fabricated what was supposed to be a copy of a letter from Woodford soon after the latter's death. Here the implication is that the original said to be in Mathers's possession never existed.

My own attempts in Germany to discover even a trace of the 'Goldene Dämmerung' during the period 1860–90 were unsuccessful. I was not the first to search for Fräulein Sprengel and her Order in Germany. Gustav Meyrink (1868–1932), the author of the famous occult novel *Der Golem*, 1915, had tried during the 1920s and had drawn a blank.¹

The Cypher MS., no matter who wrote it or whence it came, had an independent existence in its own right, unconnected with suspect documents and an elusive lady who once lived at Ulm, although it is doubtful whether she was ever alive and well there or anywhere else. Thus once Mathers had supplied the rituals the G.D. could have been started without further ado. Hence there was no real need for such an elaborate documentation, except that for Westcott's Masonic friends from the Rosicrucian Society, who were likely to be his first recruits, evidence of an 'authority' deriving from a hierarchical 'system' would be useful, perhaps even essential.

¹ There is a brief allusion to this in a letter from Dr H. Birven, of Berlin-Wittenau, to Mr Gerald Yorke (12 March 1950). Dr Birven had collaborated with Meyrink. Birven's view was that if Soror S.D.A. ever existed, the name Sprengel must be a pseudonym. Meyrink knew that the G.D.'s title in Hebrew (*pace* Westcott) was 'Chabrat Zereh Aur Bocher' and mentioned it, although not in a G.D. context, in *Der Golem*. See *The Golem*, English translation 1928, p. 151.

Neither Westcott nor Mathers, who appears to have known, more or less, what was afoot, were swindlers in the accepted sense of the word; but they were occultists and therefore liable to confuse illusion and reality. In the case of Mathers this human frailty will be very apparent when we come to the story of the Second Order after 1892 and, in particular, his Manifesto of 29 October 1896.

It will be recalled that A. E. Waite had suggested that the key to the Cypher MS. could be 'found no further off than the British Museum'. Westcott, who knew the old literature of magic and occultism, would have soon consulted any one of half a dozen editions

a	⊙	g	⊕	n	⊖	t	⊗
b	⊕	h	⊙	o	⊖	u	⊗
c	⊙	i	⊕	p	⊙	x	⊗
d	⊕	k	⊙	q	⊖	y	⊗
e	⊙	l	⊕	r	⊖	z	⊗
f	⊕	m	⊙	s	⊖	&	⊗

Figure 2 Key to the Golden Dawn cypher alphabet

of the *Polygraphiae* of the Abbot Johann Trithemius (1462–1516). There is an excellent illustration—it is reproduced here—of the cypher alphabet and its key in the Paris edition of 1561. According to Trithemius, the cypher, which is in fact an artificial alphabet, was used by alchemists to conceal their secrets. Hence it had a suitably occult flavour. The task of making a transcription would not have given Westcott much trouble.

Something at the beginning of the first ritual would have aroused his curiosity. The Hierophant, whom he would have identified as the principal officer in the Temple, calls upon the 'Fratres and Sorores [of this Temple of the] Golden Dawn' to assist him to open [the proceedings] in the 'grade of Neophyte'. This would have been Westcott's first encounter with the name 'Golden Dawn'. The reference to 'Fratres and Sorores' would have told him that the G.D., if it existed at all, had no connection with regular Freemasonry, to which women are not admitted.

Westcott wrote to Mathers from his home at 396 Camden Road on 4 October 1887. The letter is in the Private Collection. Mathers wrote on it: 'Recd. Oct 5. 10.30 a.m. 87'.

We have no doubt a rich treasure in poor old Woodford's MSS. I hope you will accept co-equality with me [i.e. as a Chief], and write it up with all your erudition if I will do a simple translation of the cypher. We must then choose a 3rd [Chief] and endeavour to spread a complete scheme of initiation.

It will be noticed that he did not mention the necessity for obtaining any form of permission from Germany. Perhaps he had not yet thought of inventing Soror S.D.A. The 'complete scheme of initiation' refers to his wish to work all the five grades for which there was material in the Cypher MS.

Mathers, who was always penurious, was remunerated for his work. According to Westcott: 'I paid Mathers to translate and work out the rituals from my original cypher drafts.' (Letter to F. L. Gardner, 5 April 1912.)

It was perhaps a little later that Westcott added an additional leaf to the Cypher MS. In order to transcribe the material the text must be read from right to left, as in Hebrew and Arabic. This leaf, which had clearly not been written by whoever was responsible for the main manuscript, puzzled me when I tried to decipher it because the result was gibberish. However, when I read the cypher [See Plate II] from left to right a 'message' was revealed:

Sapiens dom ast is a chief among the members of die goldene dammerung [i.e. Golden Dawn] she is a famous soror her name is fraulein sprengel letters reach her at herr j enger hotel marquardt stuttgart she is 7 = 4 [figures in Hebrew characters] or a chief adept.

After the word 'Marquardt' Westcott wrote 'who lived here often', meaning Fräulein Sprengel. Soror S.D.A. provided an ideal solution to Westcott's problem. By locating her in Germany he made her inaccessible, and by investing her with an exalted rank in a suitably mysterious German occult Order he made her a credible source of authority.

The Hotel Marquardt existed and was a very respectable establishment. It will be noticed that Westcott was careful to provide an accommodation address for Soror S.D.A. Aware from previous experience that German police registers, when they happen to survive,

often provide evidence of residence, I wrote to the Württemberg State Archive at Stuttgart and asked for a search to be made. There was no trace of either Fräulein Sprengel or Herr Enger, which was hardly surprising.

Westcott never said that he met Fräulein Sprengel face to face. Later he only claimed that he had corresponded with her. However, in the Private Collection there is a Hotel Marquardt billhead dated 1 December 1887. Whoever was there had a meal, a glass of Pilsener beer and two cognacs but did not stay overnight. On this document Westcott wrote in pencil: 'SD Ast was here', but omitted to say when. I assume that a friend who was travelling in Germany supplied the billhead, which at least provided a useful piece of circumstantial evidence. Indeed, it might have been in his possession before he or someone else manufactured the cypher document that stated that letters for Soror S.D.A. could be sent to Herr Enger at the hotel.

I shall now try to reconstruct how the Soror S.D.A. correspondence might have been produced. Westcott had a financial interest in a business called the Sanitary Wood Wool Company (Hartmann's Patents), suppliers of surgical dressings, which had an office at 11 Hatton Garden, London, E.C. A certain Mr Albert Essinger, whose name suggests a German origin, was employed in this firm. On 12 September 1898 Essinger gave Westcott a signed and witnessed declaration to the effect that he had 'assisted Dr. W. Wynn Westcott with a German correspondence, translated German letters and wrote letters for him in German' in 1887-8.

In order to play the Soror S.D.A. 'game' properly it was necessary for Westcott to appear to write to her and for a potential witness to know about the correspondence. However, Westcott's letters, duly translated by Mr Essinger, would not have been posted. The English text of one such letter, in Westcott's handwriting, is in the Private Collection. On it Westcott wrote: 'Translated by Mr E[ssinger] as before'.

Westcott next drafted Soror S.D.A.'s 'replies' in English. An unidentified person—graphological evidence indicates that it was not Mr Essinger—then made painfully literal translations into what he supposed was German. As and when Soror S.D.A.'s letters 'arrived', Westcott gave them to Mr Essinger for translation back into English.

At one stage I compared the unwatermarked papers on which the 'Fräulein Sprengel' letters were written with thirty or more of

Dr Westcott's letters to F. L. Gardner. My immediate conclusion was that Westcott had at least taken the trouble to provide himself with a small supply of stationery paper of continental origin. In this context perhaps I may be permitted to mention that I have a printing industry background and during the war specialised in 'document manufacture' and am therefore not without experience in assessing papers. However, the letters were in due course sent to Holland, where they were carefully examined by a group of experts headed by Mr C. Pels. Mr Pels's report stated that the 'wire marks' and type of surface-glaze suggested that the papers were manufactured abroad, possibly in Germany, rather than in Great Britain. In any case during the 1880s there was a two-way trade in stationery papers between Great Britain and Germany and it would not have been very difficult for Westcott to obtain paper made in Germany. I suspect that we exported good quality cream-woves and -laid and imported cheaper papers.

None of the letters alleged to have been from Soror S.D.A. was in the lady's own handwriting. They were supposed to have been written for her by her secretary, a certain Frater 'In Utroque Fidelis'. The first letter is undated but Westcott wrote 'Recd. 26 Nov. 1887' on the German version. The following English text is either Westcott's draft or Essinger's translation, probably the former.

Dear Brother,

I have long left the address to which you sent a letter but it has safely reached me at last. I am very glad to hear that the private papers which you describe have been found once more, they were lost by poor Abbé Constant [i.e. Eliphas Lévi] years ago and then came into the hands of two Englishmen who applied for leave to use them. The Temple of Hermanubis was granted to them, but I never heard that anything useful had happened.

As you have succeeded in understanding them I do by my power raise you to the $7 = 4$ [grade] of the Second Order in England, the l'aube dorée of France and Die goldene Dämmerung of the German nation.

Begin a new Temple No. 3 and choose two learned persons to form the first three chiefs; when you have raised three more adepts to $5 = 6$ you may be independent.

Hermetic science languishes in our time, we are but very few even here, but are very earnest and possess much power, but we mistrust posts and letters, so cannot help or tell you

very much. Write to me under cover of the Sec. of the Lodge Licht Liebe Leben which address you know.

I remain,

Sap. Dom. Ast. $7 = 4$

Frater 'In Utroque Fidelis' often writes my letters for me.

In the German text the words 'Hermetic science' appear as *Hermetik Wissenschaft*. Herr Schlag noted that *Hermetik* is a crassly literal translation and that a German occultist would have written *Hermetische Wissenschaft*. In the final sentence the word *adressiert* appears as *adressiert* (with two d's), a mistake often made by Englishmen with an imperfect knowledge of German orthography. Finally we have 'Secretary' for *Sekretär* and 'Lodge' for *Loge*. These solecisms are so typical that it is unnecessary to mention the many similar errors that occur in the other German letters.

This letter was not written by Dr Westcott the coroner but, rather, by his *alter ego* the Greatly Honoured Frater Non Omnis Moriar, a Secret Chief. Soror S.D.A. was his *Doppelgänger*, a wraith who recorded his reveries and plans.

The story that Eliphas Lévi once had the Cypher MS. is repeated. Perhaps in Westcott's imagination Lévi had once been Chief of the 'L'aube dorée' in France. The manuscript then returns to England and with German permission two Englishmen start the Hermanubis Temple but without achieving very much. If Westcott's new Temple was to be No. 3, then 'Hermanubis' was No. 2 and Soror S.D.A.'s 'Licht, Liebe, Leben' was No. 1. An 'apostolic succession' was thus devised. The Golden Dawn had its roots in the past when it was still merely one of Westcott's fantasies.

In the letter Soror S.D.A. told him to choose two more Chiefs, but this 'instruction' merely confirmed a decision that Westcott had already made. Furthermore, it was a logical one. Any statement that he alone had been authorised by a mysterious German source to found the Golden Dawn in England might not have been believed, hence the necessity for enlisting Mathers and Woodman. There is nothing in the Cypher MS. to suggest that three Chiefs would be needed.

By now Westcott must already have designed the G.D.'s apparently complicated grade structure. When he studied the Cypher MS. he may have been surprised to find that the names of four of the five grades mentioned in it corresponded to the four lowest grades of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia. The Soc. Ros. grade names, in their turn, had been copied from those of the late eighteenth-century

German Order of the Gold and Rosy Cross (Gold- und Rosenkreuzer Orden), which was a Masonic 'invention'.

SOC. ROS. GRADES

First Order

- 1° Zelator
- 2° Theoricus
- 3° Practicus
- 4° Philosophus

GOLDEN DAWN GRADES

Cypher MS.

- 0° = 0° Neophyte
- 1° = 10° Zelator
- 2° = 9° Theoricus
- 3° = 8° Practicus
- 4° = 7° Philosophus

The Cypher MS. grades ended at 4° = 7°. Westcott continued their style of numeration and at the same time adopted the Soc. Ros.'s scheme of three 'Orders'.

SOC. ROS.

Second Order

- 5° Adeptus Minor
- 6° Adeptus Major
- 7° Adeptus Exemptus

Third Order

- 8° Magister Templi
- 9° Magus

G.D.

Second Order

- 5° = 6° Adeptus Minor
- 6° = 5° Adeptus Major
- 7° = 4° Adeptus Exemptus

Third Order

- 8° = 3° Magister Templi
- 9° = 2° Magus

But what about 10° = 1°? Eureka! The holder of this highest of all grades must surely be an Ipsissimus. The grade was added and the scheme was complete. Since Westcott was a Cabbalist its inclusion was only logical. In the Cypher MS. there were references to the ten Sephiroth (Emanations of the Deity) of the Cabbalistic Tree of Life. Hence the second series of numerals from 10 to 1 in descending order could only refer to the ten Sephiroth, with a preliminary 0° = 0° grade outside the series.

Westcott had the good sense not to promote himself and his colleagues, or for that matter Soror S.D.A., to the supreme rank of Ipsissimus. Instead he devised a more subtle arrangement. They would all have the 7° = 4° grade, the highest in the Second Order, and in that capacity function as Secret Chiefs, i.e. remain completely anonymous and be known only by Latin mottoes.

There was a precedent for the mottoes in the Soc. Ros., where Westcott was 'Non Scis Nescis' and Woodman 'Sit Lux et Lux Fuit'. Already obsessed by Jacobite fantasies, Mathers had chosen 'S Rioghal (or Rioghail) Mo Dhream' (Royal is my tribe).

Thus in the Golden Dawn three secret and invisible Adepts Exempti,

the Greatly Honoured Fratres Non Omnis Moriar, Deo Duce Comite Ferro and Vincit Omnia Veritas, all 7° = 4°, were Westcott, Mathers and Woodman respectively.

However, it was also necessary for them to appear as the known and visible Chiefs of the First Order. For this purpose they took the lowest Second Order grade of Adeptus Minor 5° = 6°, and used different mottoes. At first Westcott was the Very Honoured Frater Non Scis Nescis, but soon abandoned his Soc. Ros. Motto and became 'Sapere Aude' instead. Mathers kept his Gaelic motto and Woodman used 'Magna Est Veritas Et Praevalebit'.

We are left with the so far untenanted grades of the G.D.'s Third Order: 8° = 3° Magister Templi, 9° = 2° Magus and 10° = 1° Ipsissimus. These, according to the legend, could only be achieved by even more mysterious Secret Chiefs, namely those behind the Secret Chiefs of the Second Order. They did not inhabit this planet but were said to exist only on the astral plane.

A hierarchical scheme had been neatly devised. Soror S.D.A., who still had a part to play, was made an Adeptus Exemptus 7° = 4°, but in due course Westcott proposed to jettison her. After all, she had promised the new Temple independence as soon as three Adepts had been promoted to the 5° = 6° grade.

The next S.D.A. letter is dated 25 January 1888.

To the Frater 'Non Omnis Moriar',

I authorise you to sign my motto 'Sapiens dom. astris' to any papers which are necessary to carry out my wishes as to forming Temples and carrying on the work of the Order of the G.D.

Faithfully yours,

Sap. Dom. Astris

7° = 4°

This was an astute move because Westcott could now make whatever use he liked of S.D.A.'s implied authority. The reference to Temples (plural) indicates that Westcott was already proposing to establish provincial branches of the G.D. Apart from that, an elaborate Warrant was now being prepared and it would be necessary for her signature to appear on that important document.

The third letter, dated 7 February 1888, was presumably meant to reinforce the story that Eliphas Lévi had been a member of the Order, and a deceased Italian initiate was introduced for good measure. Again, Westcott might have acquired some document or other in

Lévi's handwriting which he could say had come to him from one of the Order's German Chiefs.

Dear Brother,

I am much pleased with your report to me and of your success in finding good members; let all reports and questions come from yourself only.

I send you as a curiosity pages written by A.N.V.T. (Lévi). Another eminent old Frater called 'Igne' has just died at Naples.

Yours with fraternal love,
Sap. dom. ast. 7 = 4.

A postcard from Westcott to Dr R. W. Felkin dated 16 November 1915 contains the brief information: 'Warrant signed March 1st, 1888'. In a letter to F. L. Gardner (5 April 1912) Westcott stated: 'I paid for the Isis Warrant and paid M[athers] for writing it'. Hence Mathers was responsible for the 'Gothic' lettering (see Plate IV). It is not improbable that the four symbolical line drawings were executed by Mina Bergson, Mathers's future wife, who had recently been a student at the Slade School. They were obviously copied from an illustration in Eliphas Lévi's *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*. The text of the Warrant, which was not dated, follows:

In the Name
of the
Lord of the Universe!

We the undersigned Chiefs of the Second Order
hereby depute our V[ery] W[orshipful] Fratres

'S Rioghail Mo Dhream [Mathers], 5° = 6° as Praemonstrator;
Quod Scis Nescis [Westcott], 5° = 6° as Cancellarius;
Magna Est Veritas et Praevalebit [Woodman], 5° = 6° as
Imperator;

to constitute and rule the Isis-Urania Temple No. 3, of the
Order of the G.D. in the Outer, and to Initiate and Perfect
therein any person Male or Female who has been duly
approved of and certified by us. For which purpose this shall
be sufficient Warrant.

Deo Duce Comite Ferro [Mathers], 7° = 4°
Sapiens Dom. Astris [Fräulein Sprengel], 7° = 4°
Vincit Omnia Veritas [Woodman], 7° = 4°

Westcott signed 'Sapiens Dom. Astris' on her behalf and made an

unsuccessful attempt to disguise his own handwriting. It will be noticed that two of the 7° = 4° signatories (Mathers and Woodman) entrusted the Isis-Urania Temple to themselves, but under different mottoes.

The 'Ceremony of the Equinox', held for astrological reasons on c. 21 March and 23 September, had already achieved the status of a G.D. red-letter day by the autumn of 1888. I assume that the next letter was produced to explain Soror S.D.A.'s absence from this important event. One wonders if Westcott had hinted that she might be present. It will be noticed that it was addressed to Westcott in his 5° = 6° capacity and that it was signed not by a 7° = 4° but simply by a Chief Adept. Hence this document, which involved no 'breach of security', could have been shown at the Equinox meeting. It purported to have been written at Heidelberg on 12 September and Westcott noted on the German version: 'recd. Sept. 17, 1888'.

Dear Brother Sapere Aude, 5 = 6,

It is impossible for me to visit the Equinox festival but I shall be with you in spirit. I am pleased to hear that you are performing all the four degrees of the First Order.¹ You may require some papers on the Adept degrees which I have and which I may send you soon. Greet all my and your members and accept yourself my hearty greeting.

Sap. Dom. Ast.
A Chief Adept

There is only one example of a letter that was supposed to have been written by Westcott to Soror S.D.A. On what was presumably a draft Westcott wrote: 'Translated by Mr E[ssinger] as before'. At this point he asks Soror S.D.A. for a written document to confirm that he and his co-Chiefs were all 7° = 4°. There was a good reason for this 'request'. The time had come to admit a few chosen initiates to the Second Order with the grade of 5° = 6°. It would therefore be necessary to have a document that would identify Sapere Aude & Co., all 5° = 6°, as Non Omnis Moriar & Co., all 7° = 4°. Thus Westcott, a stickler for careful administration, drafted the necessary letter for Mr Essinger to translate into German. It bears the date 20 August 1889.

Frater S. Aude to the G[reatly] H[onoured] Chief Sap. Dom.
Astris.

¹ The appearance of the word 'performing' is unexpected. As a Mason Westcott would have used 'working'. Hence this may be a copy in Westcott's handwriting of a translation made by Albert Essinger.

I have to report that the two fratres whom I chose to be chiefs [i.e. Mathers and Woodman] by your order, have continued to work hard at the Order and the teaching of others. May I ask that the title of the 7 = 4 grade on a written document may be given to each with new titles thus:

- 5 = 6 S.A. Non Omnis Moriar [Westcott]
- 5 = 6 'S.R.M.D. Deo Duce Comite Ferro [Mathers]
- 5 = 6 M.E.V. Vincit Omnia Veritas [Woodman]

with power to grant grades 0 = 0, 1 = 10, 2 = 9, 3 = 8, 4 = 7 and 5 = 6 when the materials, papers, and diagrams can be supplied more fully.

With much respect,
Believe me,
Sapere Aude, 5 = 6
G.D.

To Sap. Dom. Astris, Hotel Marquardt, Stuttgart.

Soror S.D.A.'s next communication was dated 9 October 1889. She did not refer to his request for a document stating that he, Mathers and Woodman were 7° = 4° but noted that four members of the First Order had been promoted to the Second Order, also that 'your three Chiefs are nominated Adepts 5 = 6'. Three of the four new Second Order Adepts are identified by a note made by Westcott on the English translation: 'This refers to the two Aytons and Vestig[ia]', i.e. the Rev. W. A. Ayton and his wife and Mina Bergson. Her motto was 'Vestigia Nulla Restrorsum'. The problem is to identify the three Chiefs who had been nominated 5° = 6°. This could conceivably refer to the Deputy Imperator, Praemonstrator and Cancellarius of Isis-Urania Temple *if* members had already been appointed to these offices. However, if Westcott merely wanted to have something to show, one brief sentence was important: the Isis-Urania Temple was now to be ruled under an 'Independent Authority'.

Sapere Aude 5 = 6

Care Frater,

I am very pleased to hear that the instruction of your new members has been successful and that four of them have attained the necessary knowledge to enable them to be elevated to the next Order and also that your three Chiefs are nominated Adepts 5 = 6.

Consequently I award you according to agreement an Independent Authority.

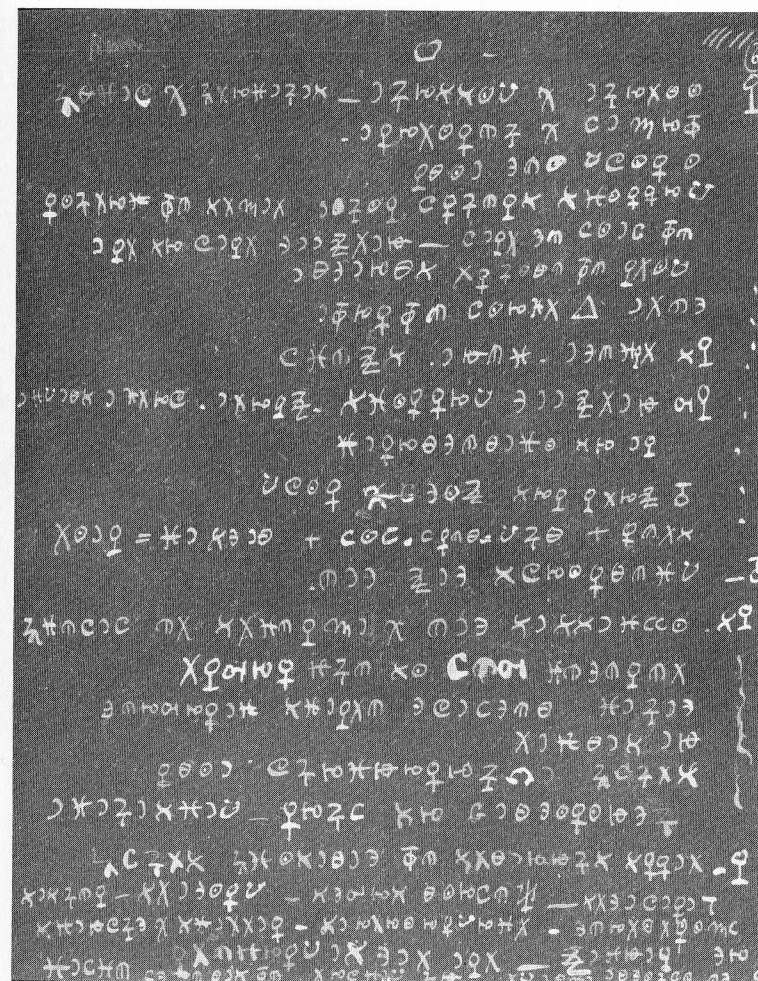


Plate I A leaf from the Golden Dawn Cypher MS.
(Private Collection)

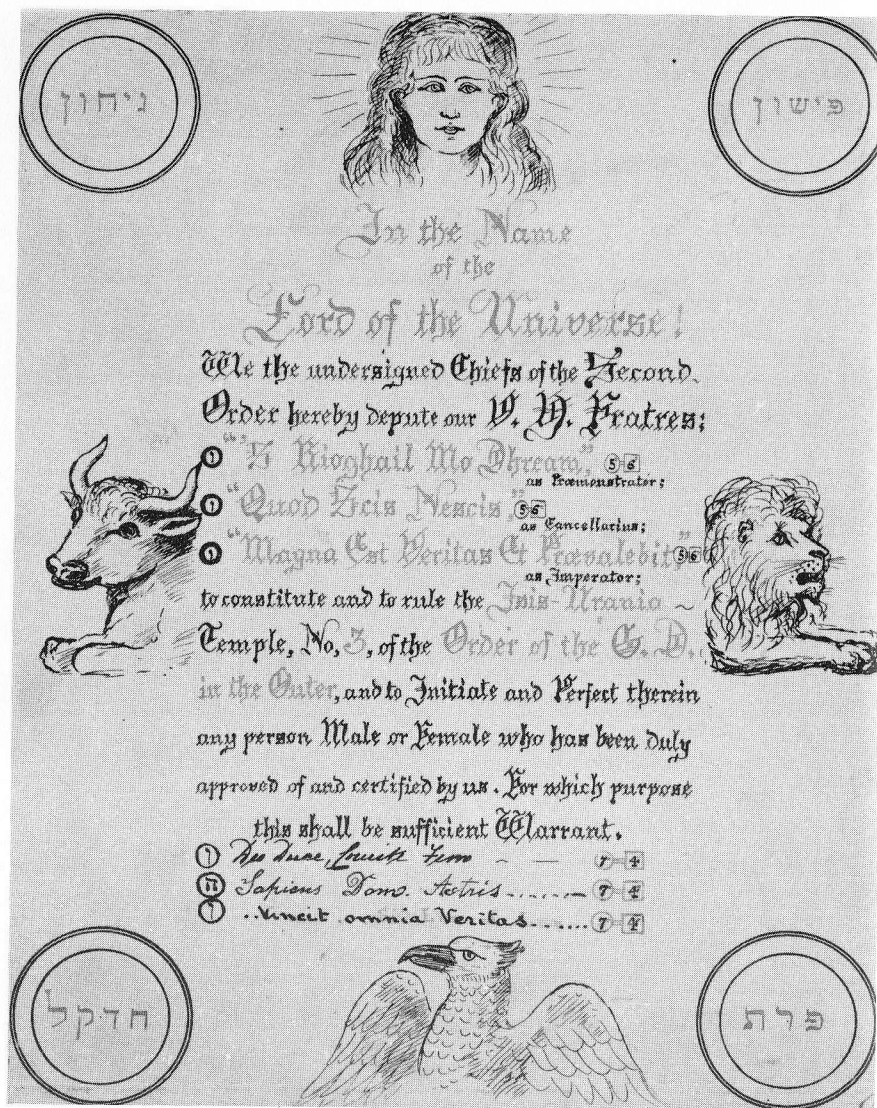


Plate IV The Golden Dawn's Charter (Private Collection)

I send you with this letter some old manuscript secrets and some very old heavenly symbols and drawings used in the different Orders.

I send you my best wishes for the success of the Order of the Golden Dawn, and remain always yours truly in the Order of the [words in Hebrew].

Sap. Dom. Ast. 7 = 4

The next document is the last that was supposed to have come from Soror S.D.A. It is dated 12 December 1889 and Westcott claimed to have received it on 20 March 1890. Its heading indicates that the G.D. was ostensibly a Rosicrucian Order.

In Nomine C[hristian] R[osenkreuz]
Mon. Ab. Dec. XII. Die 1889

The Grade of Adeptus Exemptus 7 = 4 of the Second Order is hereby in due form conferred upon the following Fratres:

1. Non Omnis Moriar (Sapere Aude 5 = 6) [Westcott]
(who is my correspondent in your country)
2. Deo Duce Comite Ferro (S.R.M.D. 5 = 6) [Mathers]
3. Vincit Omnia Veritas (Magna est Veritas 5 = 6)
[Woodman]

These grades the 0 = 0, 1 = 10, 2 = 9, 3 = 8, 4 = 7
[First Order] and 5 = 6 and 6 = 5 [Second Order] they have
the full power to control.

S.D.A.

7 = 4 Ordinis Ros. Rub. et Aur. Crucis
and 5 = 6 Goldene Dämmerung

Above is the first intimation that the Second Order was supposed to have a connection with an Order of the Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold.

Considered as a whole Soror S.D.A.'s communications are remarkably banal, but then perhaps there was not a great deal that Westcott wanted to say to himself. It was sufficient for his needs to have a few brief letters, etc. to show. The original German versions were perhaps flourished under this or that nose. He would only have known of their grammatical and other lapses if Mr Essinger had been qualified to tell him.

By the summer of 1890 Soror S.D.A. had served her purpose. The G.D. was firmly established and even thriving, probably far more

than Westcott had expected. Thus the time had now come to announce her decease.

The sad news came from Frater 'Ex Uno Disce Omnes', whose command of the German language, according to Herr Schlag, was even more precarious than that of Soror S.D.A.'s 'secretary', Frater In Utroque Fidelis. His letter, dated 23 August 1890, purported to come from Dahme. There are small towns of that name in Holstein and what was then the Prussian province of Brandenburg.

Dear Brother N.O.M.,

I am very sorry to have to send you the bad news of the death of our very learned friend S.D.A. 7 = 4. The loss will be very severely felt by many of us. The death occurred on 20 July at a village near B. We are afraid that the young I[n] U[troque] F[idelis] the secretary who has written letters to you for S.D.A. during recent years will have to stop his studies and take to business. But all the knowledge is safe with him. I ought to tell you that permission to perform ceremonies in large lodges, as you are doing, was given by S.D.A. against the wishes of other chiefs, and they will not correspond with you, or help you any more at present, until they find out how this change affects the Order. A few more 5 and 6 papers may be sent to you. I enclose my private card for your own use only.

Believe me ever your sincere brother,

'Ex uno disce omnes', 7 = 4, O.R.R. et A.C.

Everything was tied up in a neat package. Soror S.D.A. dies somewhere that cannot possibly be identified; her 'secretary' is removed from the scene and Frater 'Ex Uno Disce Omnes' announces that the correspondence will now cease. By producing this 'evidence' of Soror S.D.A.'s death Westcott may have supposed that he had tidily disposed of her. However, this was not to be the case, for later her ghost returned to haunt him.

Westcott began to recruit members in c. March 1888. In the meantime Mathers would have been 'writing up' the rituals on the basis of the hints found in the Cypher MS. By this time Westcott had prepared a document called 'The Historic Lecture for Neophytes', copies of which were circulated to those who joined the Order. No specimens of the earliest version have survived and the extracts printed below are from a later (c. 1894?) recension. It will be noted that previous membership was claimed for a number of people who had never been

in the G.D., e.g. Eliphas Lévi and Jean-Baptiste Ragon (1781-1862), the French Masonic writer. A descent from the original and mythical seventeenth-century German Rosicrucian Order was proposed. Again, although her name was not mentioned, there is a reference to Soror S.D.A.'s 'Licht, Liebe, Leben' Temple No. 1 and the presumably fictitious Hermanubis Temple No. 2. The document also contains an account of the Order's structure and teachings.

The Order of the G.D. in the Outer is an Hermetic Society whose members are taught the principles of Occult Science and the Magic of Hermes.

During the early part of the second half of this century, several eminent Adepts and Chiefs of the Order in France and England died, and their deaths caused a temporary dormant condition of Temple work. Prominent among those Adepts of our Order, and of public renown were Eliphas Lévi, the greatest of the modern French Magi; Ragon, the author of several classical books of occult lore; Kenneth Mackenzie, the author of the famous and learned Masonic Encyclopaedia, and Frederick Hockley, possessed of finer vision in the crystal, and whose MSS. were highly esteemed. These and other contemporary Adepts of this Order received their knowledge and power from predecessors of equal and even greater eminence. They received, indeed, and have handed down to us this Doctrine and System of Theosophy and Hermetic Science, and the Highest Alchemy from a long series of practical investigators, whose origin is traced to the Fratres Rosae Crucis of Germany, which association was founded by one Christian Rosenkreuz about the year 1398.

But even the Rosicrucian revival of mysticism was but a new development of the vaster older wisdom of the Kabalistic Rabbis, and of that very ancient secret knowledge, the Magic of the Egyptians, in which the Hebrew Pentateuch tells you that Moses, the Founder of the Jewish System, was 'learned', i.e. in which he had been initiated.

Hence the o° = o° Grade of Neophyte is found to possess Egyptian characteristics and symbolism,¹ and further an

¹ Mr Gerald Yorke has discovered that Mathers adapted material for the Neophyte ritual from C. W. Goodwin, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic from a Papyrus in the British Museum*, 1852. He was also undoubtedly familiar with C. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, 5 vols, 1848-67.

attentive study of the Higher Grades will reveal the source of much of the culture and illustrate the language of the late Eliphaz Lévi, through whose adeptship and advocacy the study of occultism has been popularised.

The First Order is a group of Four Grades, to each of which in succession the Neophytes are admissible when duly approved by the Greatly Honoured Chiefs, after shewing themselves possessed of sufficient aptitude and knowledge.

Beyond the above there are Three Grades of Adeptship forming the Second Order; these have the power of selecting candidates, initiating students into the lowest [First Order] grades, and their Chiefs have in addition the power of issuing warrants of Temples, such as that of Isis-Urania.

The highest of all in this ancient scheme are the Great Rulers of the whole System, who severally sustain and govern the Third Order, which includes Three Magic Titles of Honour and Supremacy. These represent the Supernal Triad of the Sephiroth and are shrouded and unapproachable to the profane and to all other but the Chiefs of the Adepts; in a case of a vacancy in this Order the Chief, most learned and most famous Adept obtains by decree the well-earned reward.¹

The Neophyte grade and the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th grades which the present Isis-Urania Temple is authorised to confer, after due examination and approval in each case, possess Rituals and Secrets which have been received from the Greatly Honoured Chief Adepts [i.e. of the Second Order], and these are placed in our hands to use in the tuition of pupils in the ancient methods of the Order.

This Temple [i.e. Isis-Urania No. 3] was consecrated as a successor to Hermanubis No. 2, which had ceased to exist owing to the decease of all its Chiefs.

The Temple No. 1 of 'Licht, Liebe, Leben' [i.e. Soror S.D.A.'s] is a group of Continental Mystics who have not been in the habit of performing ceremonies in open Lodge, but have

¹ The 'Three Magic Titles of Honour and Supremacy' were Magister Templi, 8° = 3°, Magus 9° = 2° and Ipsissimus 101° = °. Since the Third Order was supposed to exist only on the astral plane, promotion to it in the event of a vacancy was hardly likely. Mr Gerald Yorke wrote the following note in F. L. Gardner's copy of the Second Order's 'Ritual A', which was an administrative document: 'Gerard Heym signed as follows in his copy of *The Equinox*, III, i: "Gerard Heym 10° = 1°. Supreme Magus of the R+C, G.D. Paris, 1931".' The reader may infer, if he likes, that Mr Heym had become an Ipsissimus and was himself a Secret Chief, perhaps even 'shrouded and unapproachable'.

conferred the grades chiefly in privacy and in the presence of two or three members. For this reason there is no accurate record of the names and rank of all the members, and very great reticence is shewn by them in their communications.

It will be convenient if I now give you the name of our Order in the several languages. In Hebrew the title is 'Chabrath' or 'Cheurah Zere aour bokher', which means the 'Society of the Shining Light of the Dawn'. While yet Latin was the language in almost universal use amongst persons of culture, the name was 'Aurora'. In Greek 'Hē [h]eōs chrusē'; in French 'L'Aube Dorée', in German the title is 'Die Goldene Dämmerung'.

The myths perpetrated in the 'Historic Lecture for Neophytes', e.g. those relating to Eliphaz Lévi, Kenneth Mackenzie and J.-B. Ragon, reinforce my contention that Soror S.D.A. and the G.D.'s alleged German connection was invented by Westcott. The elaborate background scenery having been painted, it only remained to 'spread a complete scheme of initiation', as Westcott proposed in his letter to Mathers of 4 October 1887.



The Rosicrucian Society of England

Dr Westcott, MacGregor Mathers and Dr Woodman were all members of the Rosicrucian Society of England, also known as the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia or Soc. Ros. This was a small coterie of Master Masons with a penchant for occultism. Before Westcott and Mathers joined it during the early 1880s many who were in the Society were interested in spiritualism.

The Soc. Ros. was 'Rosicrucian' only in name since its members clearly knew very little about the origins of the Rosicrucian legend in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their ignorance is hardly surprising because the first serious studies by German scholars were not published until after 1920.¹

The Rosicrucian Society of England was founded in 1866 by Robert Wentworth Little (1840-78), a young man who was employed in a clerical capacity by the United Grand Lodge of England at Freemasons' Hall in London.² His multifarious Masonic interests need not detain us. However, in his 'Historic Lecture for Neophytes', Westcott mentioned that Little was 'a student of the works of Eliphas Lévi', which may or may not be true. During Little's lifetime none of Lévi's books had been translated into English but his name was already well known in British occultist circles.

¹ See R. Kienast, *Johann Valentin Andreae und die vier echten Rosenkreutzer-Schriften*, 1926; Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Rosenkreutzer, zur Geschichte einer Reformation*, 1928; *ibid.*, *Pansophie*, 2nd ed., 1956; Hans Schick, *Das ältere Rosenkreuzertum*, 1942, published under the auspices of Heinrich Himmler; B. Kossmann, 'Alchemie und Mystik in Johann Valentin Andreaes "Chymischer Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreützz"' (Cologne, thesis), 1966. A. E. Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, 1924, still the only full-scale study in English, contains much allied information that is not easily available elsewhere but is not an entirely satisfactory compilation.

² For the Rosicrucian Society see the *Rosicrucian* (July 1868-October 1874) followed by the *Rosicrucian and Masonic Record* (January 1876-January 1879). For the period after 1885 see *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia: Transactions of the Metropolitan College* (annually, privately printed). Dr W. W. Westcott published two pamphlets: *History of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia*, 1900; *Data of the History of the Rosicrucians*, 1916. A. E. Waite discussed the foundation of the Society in *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, 1924, pp. 564-7.

Westcott recorded elsewhere that Little decided to found a Rosicrucian Society when he discovered some old papers, vaguely described as 'Rosicrucian', in c. 1865-6. When Westcott searched for them in 1900 they could not be found. Since the Soc. Ros. adopted the grade names of the late eighteenth-century German Masonic Order of the Gold and Rosy Cross (Gold- und Rosenkreuzer Orden) it is possible that whatever Little unearthed originated from that source.

Little was acquainted with Kenneth Mackenzie (b. 1833), who had a good knowledge of the German language, hence if Little's papers were in German Mackenzie could translate them.¹ Equally important for Little, Mackenzie claimed to be a Rosicrucian initiate. According to Westcott in 1900: 'Little availed himself of certain knowledge and authority which belonged to Brother Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie who had, during a stay in earlier life, been in communication with German Adepts who claimed a descent from previous generations of Rosicrucians. German Adepts had admitted him to some grades of their system, and had permitted him to attempt the foundation of a group of Rosicrucian students in England, who under the Rosicrucian name might form a partly esoteric society.'

Westcott's evident acceptance of Mackenzie's 'authority' should be noted. Little had found certain 'Rosicrucian' papers and the implication is that he asked Mackenzie to give him a Warrant or Charter. It does not appear necessary to take Mackenzie's alleged Rosicrucian affiliations very seriously. In any event no contemporary German Rosicrucian group can be identified.

Mackenzie was ineligible to join Little's new Rosicrucian Society because he did not belong to any Lodge recognised by the English Masonic authorities. And yet his uncle, with whom he was on friendly terms, was none other than John Hervey, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England. Mackenzie did not join an English Lodge until March 1870 and even then did not apply for membership of the Rosicrucian Society, presumably because he had little use for it. He became an honorary member in April 1872 and was the Society's Assistant Secretary in 1874-5 but resigned in the latter year.

¹ In 1852, when Mackenzie was only nineteen, his name appeared on the title-page as the editor of an English translation of C. R. Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopen, etc.*, 1842-5, 1852, published in London as *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai*. Mackenzie's additional notes display an impressive knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, also a familiarity with the current literature relating to Egyptian antiquities. This book may have secured his election to membership of the Society of Antiquaries of London on 19 January 1854, i.e. before his twenty-first birthday on 31 October. He was also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society (1855-61) and the Anthropological Society of London (1864-c. 1870).

A. E. Waite mentioned the possibility that Mackenzie, whom he described as a 'multifarious person', might have been the 'concealed author of the G.: D.: cipher scripts' and that 'he may have sold them to Westcott and may have enabled him to communicate with Fräulein Sprengel as a person whom he knew to be connected with a German Rosy Cross'.¹ Waite's speculations are only of passing interest. However, Mackenzie's significance as a leading British occultist of the pre-Golden Dawn generation is not without its importance because it was his milieu that produced men like Westcott and Mathers.

Mackenzie had an aptitude for scholarship but occultism and, towards the end of his life, various aberrations on the fringe of orthodox Freemasonry were his main interests. This may explain why during the decade before his death in 1886 he and his wife were living on a minute income, first at Chiswick and later at various very modest addresses in the London suburbs of Hounslow and Twickenham. On 16 March 1879 he wrote to his friend and fellow-occultist F. G. Irwin, Chief Adept of the Bristol Soc. Ros. College, 'At one time I was well off and kept my carriage and had the world so to speak at my feet'.²

In 1858-9 he financed and edited four numbers of the short-lived *Biological Review*, which was devoted to such diverse topics as spiritualism, homoeopathy, electro-dentistry 'and the Finer Physics generally'. He visited Eliphas Lévi in Paris in 1861 at the age of twenty-eight, and wrote an interesting account of his interview with the Magus. According to Lévi's unpublished correspondence, quoted by his biographer Paul Chacornac, he found Mackenzie very intelligent but excessively involved with magic and spiritualism.³ Lévi may not even have been aware that Mackenzie proposed him for honorary membership of the Rosicrucian Society on 24 April 1873.

A. E. Waite observed that 'on Rosicrucian subjects at least the record of Kenneth Mackenzie is one of recurring mendacity'.⁴ The

¹ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, pp. 225, 230.

² A collection of Mackenzie's letters to F. G. Irwin and other contemporaries, including a few to Westcott, is in the library of the United Grand Lodge of England.

³ See Mackenzie's article 'Philosophical and Cabbalistic Magic' in *The Rosicrucian*, April 1873. It was reprinted in the *Occult Review*, December 1921. The text is more conveniently available in Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England: 1887 to the Present Day*, 1970, pp. 28-38. Mr Gerald Yorke possesses a contemporary MS. version in Mackenzie's handwriting: 'An account of what passed between Eliphas Lévi Zahed (Abbé Constant), Occult Philosopher, and Baphometus (Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie), Astrologer and Spiritualist, in the City of Paris, December 1861.' There is a reference to Mackenzie's visit in Paul Chacornac, *Eliphas Lévi, renouvateur de l'occultisme en France*, 1926, pp. 201-3.

⁴ A. E. Waite, *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, 1924, p. 566.

following reference to an alleged occult Order is typical of the legendary stories told by Mackenzie and others like him. In the April 1874 issue of *The Rosicrucian* he wrote: 'The Hermetic Order of Egypt is one of a very exclusive character. I have only met with six individuals who possessed it, and of these two were Germans, two Frenchmen and two of other nations.' F. G. Irwin was in Paris in 1874 and when he returned asked Mackenzie about the Order. In his letter to Irwin of 23 October 1874 Mackenzie said: 'I can give you very little information about the Hermetic Order of Egypt. Constant [i.e. Lévi] could have given you far more than I could—he was one of my preceptors.'

Mackenzie was one of the first in Great Britain to concern himself with the alleged occult significance of the Tarot cards. Tarot symbolism was later to play an important role in the Golden Dawn. Here it is only necessary to mention that the 'occult Tarot' legend was first developed by Eliphas Lévi and is therefore of very recent date. There is an allusion to the cards in Mackenzie's letter to Irwin of 6 November 1877. It was written more than a decade before the publication of the first Tarot manuals, which were all by French authors.¹

You saw . . . E[liphas] L[évi] much more recently than I did and perhaps you may be able to answer his question [i.e. the Rev. W. A. Ayton's question], viz. whether E.L. left any exact instructions behind him for the working of the Tarot. I have a fashion of working it myself but I work it with the aid of astrology which is a different process from that pursued by E.L. My general instructions are those of Alliette² [sic] which are tinged with cartomancy—but for the latter I much prefer an Italian process by which I have had marvellous results.

He wrote to Dr Westcott about the Tarot on 7 August 1879:

With reference to the *Real Tarot* the gent^a at Bath has already been worrying me about it, and so have Brother Yarker and Brother the Revd. William Ayton. I am not disposed to communicate the Tarot system indiscriminately although I am acquainted with it. To do so would put a most dangerous weapon into the hands of persons less scrupulous than I am.

¹ i.e. Papus, *Le Tarot des bohémiens*, 1889, and Oswald Wirth, *Le Livre de Thoth. Les 22 arcanes du Tarot dessinés à l'usage des initiés sur les indications de Stanislas de Guaita*, 1889 (limited to 100 copies with the twenty-two Major Trumps, hand-coloured, in a slip-case).

² Alliette (fl. 1753-90) or Etteilla (anagram), French writer on cartomancy. This eccentric person deserves further study.

Our Brother Hockley to whom I owe most of my occult information in a like manner withholds much for the same reason.

I took some trouble to find out about the lost cards of Eliphaz Levi, but have not succeeded in tracing them. He wanted £8 for a copy of them.¹

Mackenzie later changed his mind about communicating information about the Tarot, although his book on the subject was never published.² He wrote to Dr Westcott on 6 December 1885: 'I am not at present writing about the Tarot. It was a projected work some years ago and fell through. I may perhaps resume it some day. I gave Bro. Mathers a prospectus as a curiosity. The subject is terribly intricate and I have not the same means of literary command I formerly possessed.'

Like so many occultists, then and now, Mackenzie dabbled in 'fringe' medicine. He wrote to Irwin on 4 February 1876:

I wish I could learn that Mrs. Irwin's health was reestablished on a firm basis. If I knew the particulars of the complaint perhaps I could suggest something as I cure everyone who chooses to consult me. I have a peculiar knowledge of the properties of Sympathia—and I find them rather increase in power than otherwise. I was brought up to medicine under Dr. Hassall at St. George's Hospital, Hyde Park—but I do not practise as I never took an English degree, although I am 'licensed to kill' anywhere out of England.

There is no evidence in the registers at St George's Hospital Medical School that he ever registered as a student there. Possibly he merely 'walked the wards' as a matter of interest.

He explained his reasons for resigning from the Rosicrucian Society in 1875 in a letter written to Dr Westcott on 24 March 1881:

I have no rituals of the English Rosicrucian Society in my

¹ The gentleman at Bath may have been Robert Fryar, a bookseller who published limited editions of works on occultism and who was importing Tarot cards from France during the 1880s. John Yarker (1833–1913), the author of *The Arcane Schools*, 1909, was an occultist and notorious promoter of bogus Masonic rites. There appears to be a reference to the 'lost cards' in Paul Chacornac, *Eliphas Lévi*, 1926, p. 291n. Mackenzie's letter justifies A. E. Waite's remark that he was 'a burning and shining light of occultism, somewhat concealed under a bushel of secrecy'.

² A prospectus was printed for Mackenzie's *The Game of Tarot, Archaeologically and Symbolically Considered*—'in preparation, in small Quarto, with Illustrations in the Text, and 78 Illustrations in a separate Case. Price One Guinea'. The prospective publisher was Trübner & Co., London. If the book had appeared it would have antedated Papus's well-known *Le Tarot des bohémiens* by a number of years.

possession except the degree of Zelator, which you know Little remodelled from the American [word illegible] degree and it really has nothing to do with real Rosicrucianism. It is for that reason that I have always held aloof from the English Society of late years. I possess the real degrees but I may not by my tenure give them to any one in the world without a long and severe probation to which few would consent to submit. It has taken me a quarter of a century to obtain them and the whole of the degrees are different to anything known to the Rosi. Society of England—those few who have these degrees dare not communicate them. Read H[argrave] Jennings again and [Bulwer-Lytton's] *Zanoni*. Even Lytton who knew so much was only a Neophyte and could not reply when I tested him years ago. How then could Little maintain that he had them? I know how many real Rosicrucians there are in these islands.

Mackenzie was referring to Hargrave Jennings's eccentric book *The Rosicrucians; Their Rites and Mysteries*, 1870, which is nonsense from start to finish. Indeed, if Mackenzie supposed that Jennings knew anything about the 'Rosicrucians' he was capable of believing anything.

In 1883 he was busy with the foundation of a new occult Order called the Society of Eight. It was probably still-born. His letter to Irwin of 28 August suggests that its aims were vaguely alchemical.

I am glad to welcome you as a Brother of the Society of Eight—this Society means *work* and not play. It is by no means poor Little's foolish Rosic. Society. We are *practical* and not visionary and we are not degree-mongers. *That* nonsense is played out . . . Stainton Moses and Westcott are not to be admitted. Ayton is a widely different man—he is a profound occultist.

Mackenzie also indicated that Frederick Holland had agreed to become a member. Holland gave Mathers his first instruction in the Cabbala and had recently joined the Soc. Ros. The Rev. W. A. Ayton was an elderly parson who dabbled with alchemy. He was one of the earliest members of the Golden Dawn, also one of the first to be advanced to the Second Order.

Lord Lytton (1802–73), who as Edward Bulwer-Lytton was the author of the famous 'Rosicrucian' novel *Zanoni* (1842), became the Rosicrucian Society's Grand Patron in 1871. Westcott was quite willing to accept that Lytton had an authentic Rosicrucian connection. In 1916 he wrote: 'In 1850 the very old Rosicrucian Lodge at Frankfurt

am Main fell into abeyance; in this Lodge the first Lord Lytton was received into the Adeptship and became imbued with the [Rosicrucian] ideas he displayed in his novel *Zanoni*. This book was highly esteemed by nineteenth-century occultists who took it very seriously. No information about an alleged Rosicrucian Lodge at Frankfurt am Main is available.

While Mackenzie greatly admired Frederick Hockley (1809–85), one of the best-known occultists of the Victorian era, their relations became clouded. It is perhaps significant that Mackenzie's resignation from the Rosicrucian Society was announced at the same meeting (30 April 1875) at which Hockley was elected a joining member of the Metropolitan College. He was already a member of F. G. Irwin's Bristol College. The two men later became reconciled and Mackenzie wrote to Irwin on 16 April 1883: 'Yesterday came a letter from Bro. Hockley . . . I only wish I had a tithe of his occult knowledge.' In another letter written soon after Hockley's death on 10 November 1885, Mackenzie referred to him as: 'my dear old friend Bro. Hockley—the great spiritualist and astrologer'.

William Carpenter (1797–1874) was yet another member of the Rosicrucian Society who was closely identified with spiritualism. An article by him on 'Occult Science' in the *Rosicrucian* (January 1870) indicates a familiarity with the works of Eliphas Lévi, whose books, he wrote, 'were very little known even among the members of our mystic and Secret Orders'.

The Rev. Stainton Moses, one of the most famous British spiritualist mediums of that period, joined the Society on 17 December 1877. Robert Palmer Thomas, who was later to be a prominent member of the G.D., joined the same day.

Two of the three noblemen who belonged to the Society during its early days were deeply interested in spiritualism and its phenomena. The first was Lord Lytton, and the other was the Master of Lindsay, later the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who became a member in 1871. He was present at a number of spectacular seances with the famous physical medium D. D. Home.

Once again there is a rumour of a continental Rosicrucian initiation. There is an allusion to this in a letter written to F. L. Gardner by the Rev. W. A. Ayton on 22 January 1902.

My impression is . . . that he [i.e. Lord Lindsay] had been initiated on the Continent, as so many of our Nobility were at the beginning of the last century, especially Scots noblemen.

I do not think that there was any opportunity for him to work practically at any Occult Lodge in England. The late Frederick Hockley was the only man doing anything in that line and his was only with a Magic Mirror and a Clairvoyante . . . If there had been anything more than that going, Hockley would have been in it, and in the conversations I have had with him, he would have told me what was going on in that way. He knew the original of 'Glyndon' in *Zanoni*, who was living at Highgate, I think.

The presence of these avowed spiritualists, i.e. Mackenzie, Irwin, Carpenter, Hockley and Stainton Moses in the Rosicrucian Society—and there were probably many more—does not mean that the Society was a Masonic spiritualist association that called itself 'Rosicrucian'. It merely reflected the widespread interest in spiritualism that prevailed at that time. During R. W. Little's lifetime the Society did little more than achieve its founder's very modest aims. It was merely a very small Masonic fraternity that met quarterly, worked some brief rituals, listened to a lecture on this or that arcane topic and enjoyed an annual dinner.

The Metropolitan College's annual *Transactions* indicate an expansion of interests from 1885 onwards. Regular lectures on the Cabbala and highly-speculative papers on Masonic symbolism had become a feature of its activities. The spiritualist element was now probably in a minority. Dr W. R. Woodman, who had succeeded R. W. Little as Supreme Magus when the latter died in 1878, was a student of the Cabbala, and Westcott and Mathers were both enthusiastic Cabbalists.

The Soc. Ros. was not and could not be organised as a school for Cabbalistic and occult instruction. Westcott had something of this kind in mind when he founded the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Furthermore, he could expect to find a nucleus of prospective male members in the Rosicrucian Society. It was never his intention to teach practical Magic. His knowledge of the subject can only have been theoretical and in any case he was a scholar rather than a Magician. Mathers, on the other hand, was capable of transforming the G.D. into a Magical Order. He eventually did this, and with surprising success.

The Three Chiefs

A physician who had become a Coroner (Westcott), a penurious eccentric (Mathers) and a retired physician who could read Hebrew and studied the literature of the Cabbala (Woodman) were the Golden Dawn's first three Chiefs.

Although Westcott intended that they should be 'co-equal', as he expressed it, it was he who ran the G.D. during its early years. It was his hobby, his child and largely his creation. 'I claim right and precedence in the origin of the G.D.', he wrote to F. L. Gardner on 5 April 1912, fifteen years after it had slipped from his grasp and a quarter of a century after he discovered the words 'Golden Dawn' in the Cypher Manuscript. Westcott was the Order's organising genius, its thaumaturgic Pooh-Bah, its 'Recorder of Minutes, Superintendent of 5° = 6° Admissions, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer', not to mention its Chief Adept in Anglia in 1896. This multiplicity of offices and functions, which must have filled every leisure hour, clearly gave him enormous pleasure.

Mathers, whom Yeats described in *Autobiographies* as a man of 'much learning but little scholarship', was too absorbed in his obscure studies at the British Museum, where he read every available book on magic, alchemy, symbolism, the religious *mores* of Ancient Egypt and heaven knows what else, to interfere overmuch when the G.D. was being organised as a school for the study of what Westcott called 'classical medieval occult science'. Later he was to seize hold of the Order, offer it 'a scheme of Magic and Practice'—the description was Westcott's—and use it to express his own imperious temperament.

By comparison with Mathers, who was the Magician personified, poor Dr Westcott was merely the Sorcerer's apprentice, eventually incapable of controlling the magical torrent he had unwittingly unleashed.

Dr Woodman played no part in all this. In *Shadows of Life and Thought* A. E. Waite described him, briefly and somewhat contemptuously, as 'an obscure occultist', which may be a sufficient

assessment. Westcott's senior by twenty years and old enough to be Mathers's father, the Supreme Magus of the Rosicrucian Society remained in the background and died shortly before Mathers transformed Westcott's innocent little occult society into a real magical sodality.

Westcott's personality presents many contradictions. As a Coroner he was accustomed to sifting evidence with the greatest possible care—he is said to have conducted more than ten thousand inquests during a period of about thirty years up to 1910—and yet, as the V.H. Frater Sapere Aude in the G.D. in the Outer, and as the G.H. Frater Non Omnis Moriar in the Second Order, he inhabited a world of fantasy. It is possible that he had unconscious longings to be either an actor or a priest, for nothing else will satisfactorily explain his love of 'dressing up', e.g. in the robes of the Supreme Magus of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia or in the even more elaborate costume devised for a Chief Adept in the Second Order of the G.D. Again, there was the delight he obviously derived from active participation in ritual ceremonies.

It was the devious streak in Westcott's character that perplexed me, particularly his role in the Soror S.D.A. business. It could have begun as an occultist's practical joke, but perhaps there were moments when he believed in her.

One day I happened to show the Warrant which Westcott wrote on 3 January 1894 for Mathers's new Ahathoor Temple at Paris to Mr Francis Hilliger, a British graphologist of great experience. Mr Hilliger inspected the document and, now intrigued, remarked that it was strange that it had apparently been written by two different persons; furthermore that one of them took over from the other even in the middle of a line. By now very familiar with Westcott's handwriting after spending countless hours reading letters and other documents written by him, I argued that Westcott had been responsible for every word in the Warrant. Mr Hilliger accepted this, although he was still puzzled.

I produced another document which, as far as I was concerned, could only have been written by Westcott. This was a statement that he had prepared in 1898 for his friend T. H. Pattinson to sign in the presence of a witness. It concerned his past relationship with Mathers, which was then giving him some anxiety. I suspect that by now he was afraid that Mathers would soon be talking about the fraudulent nature of the Soror S.D.A. letters, although this bomb was not exploded until early in 1900.

Mr Hilliger found it difficult, if not impossible, to accept that

whoever wrote the Ahathoor Warrant had also written the 1898 Statement. The latter indicated a degree of calligraphic control and stability that was completely absent in the Warrant. If, as I contended, Westcott had written the Warrant, Mr Hilliger did not believe that he was capable of the sustained effort necessary for the formal penmanship shown in the Statement. In any case, the two documents seemed to exhibit completely different handwritings, and in his opinion could not have been written by the same person.

Rashly, perhaps, in view of the fact that Mr Hilliger has been a professional graphologist for many years, and is also a specialist on suspect documents, I was still inclined to suppose that Westcott had written the Statement. In fairness to Mr Hilliger I must mention that his were 'first sight' impressions. As far as the Statement was concerned my hypothesis was confirmed some weeks later when I spent a weekend at Mr Gerald Yorke's house and discovered a long Second Order manuscript ('The True System of Astrological Divination') which was written in the same formal handwriting as the Statement. There was sufficient internal evidence to show that Westcott, and no one else, had written this piece. A few days later I sent Xerox prints of certain pages in the manuscript and further specimens of Westcott's informal handwriting to Mr Hilliger. His final conclusion on the basis of all the available graphological material was that Westcott represents an unusually fascinating case of multiple personality.¹

William Wynn Westcott, whose father was a surgeon, was born at Leamington, Warwickshire, on 17 December 1848. Both his parents died before his tenth birthday and he was adopted by Richard Westcott Martyn, a bachelor uncle who was also a surgeon. The boy was educated at the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School at Kingston-upon-Thames and then studied medicine at University College, London. Soon after he qualified in 1871 he became a partner in his uncle's practice at Martock, Somerset, and joined a Masonic Lodge at near-by Crewkerne. He remained in the west country until c. 1879 and then 'went into retirement at Hendon for two years, which were entirely devoted to the study of Kabalistic philosophy, the works of Hermetic writers, and the remains of the Alchemists and Rosicrucians'.² He probably joined the Rosicrucian Society in 1880. On 7 January

¹ Any attempt at a psychiatric diagnosis by a layman is hazardous, but see L. Szondi, *Schicksalsanalyse*, 2nd ed., Basle, 1948, pp. 305-9, where he observes that patients with incipient schizophrenic tendencies were particularly identified with occultism, spiritualism, Theosophy and Hinduism.

² Obituary notice in *Quatuor Coronati Lodge Transactions*, 1925, p. 224.

1880 he wrote to F. G. Irwin, with whom he had been acquainted since 1875, and asked for an introduction to Dr Woodman, who was now the Society's Supreme Magus in succession to R. W. Little.

In 1881, immediately after his 'occult retreat', Westcott became a Deputy Coroner. He was appointed Coroner for North-East London during the early 1890s. The lists of his publications, e.g. on such subjects as alcoholism and suicide, in successive editions of the *Medical Directory* do not hint at his private interests. Conversely, few of his medical colleagues would have known about his contributions to the literature of occultism. He was not without erudition in his particular field.¹

Judging by his letters, Westcott was a gentle, friendly man. The ladies in the G.D. were rather fond of their 'Sapere Aude', while the male members, some of whom knew him as Supreme Magus of the Soc. Ros. after Dr Woodman's death in 1891, respected him. Their attitude to Mathers was tinged with uncertainty; they never knew quite where they were with him; conversely they did know where they were with Westcott . . . until Mathers pulled the magical carpet from under their feet in February 1900. As Aleister Crowley scribbled in his magical diary at the time: 'If S.R. [Mathers] is not 7° = 4° [because Soror S.D.A.'s 'authority' was a fiction] there is no Second Order and no Golden Dawn and no nuffin.'²

Mathers would be a heaven-sent subject for a full-scale biography if there were sufficient material. He was cast in the same mould as his contemporary Frederick Rolfe, Baron Corvo. Westcott recorded what little he knew about his early life in an undated memorandum which may have been written in 1900.

Samuel Liddell Mathers, son of William M. Mathers, a commercial clerk; his mother was a Miss Collins. He was born at 11 De Beauvoir Place, Hackney, on January 8, 1854. His father died early and he lived for some years with his widowed mother at Bournemouth until her death in 1885. He was initiated in the Hengist Lodge [at Bournemouth] in 1877 but never

¹ Cf. his edition of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, 'translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions', 1887; *The Isiac Tablet of Cardinal Bembo. Its History and Occult Significance*, 1887 (both published in limited editions by R. H. Fryar, of Bath); *Numbers: Their Occult Powers and Mystic Virtue*, 1890; *The Magical Ritual of the Sanctum Regnum*, 1896, translated from one of Eliphas Lévi's manuscripts; and his 'Collectanea Hermetica' series (nine short volumes, 1893-6), to which Percy Bullock and Florence Farr, both members of the G.D., contributed.

² 'The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage', unpublished MS., 1900.

became a Lodge Master.¹ While at Bournemouth his studies were directed to mystical ideas by his acquaintance with Frederick Holland, a deep student of mystical philosophy. He was admitted to the Rosicrucian Society, and so became associated with Dr. Woodman and Dr. Westcott, and pursuing his studies under their tuition he made considerable progress and proved so apt a pupil that he published a translation of [Knorr] von Rosenroth's 'Kabbalah Denudata' [1677], a work which has run through several editions and gave him a recognised position in occultism.

On the death of his mother he was left in very poor circumstances, and removed to London where he lived in modest lodgings in Great Percy Street, King's Cross, enjoying the hospitality of Dr. Westcott for many years.

If Westcott demanded 'right and precedence in the origin of the G.D.' for himself in 1912, Mrs Mathers made an equally emphatic claim on her late husband's behalf in the fourth (1926) edition of Mathers's *The Kabbalah Unveiled*. 'Simultaneously with the publication of the *Qabalah* in 1887,' she wrote, 'he received instructions from his occult teachers to prepare what was eventually to become his esoteric school. In this connection were associated with him the late Dr Woodman and the late Dr Westcott, both eminent Masons and Qabalists.' Thus in Mrs Mathers's version Westcott's role was made to appear completely insignificant.

Her Preface is the only source of information about Mathers's schooldays.

As a very young boy he was intensely interested in mysticism and symbolism generally. He was educated at Bedford Grammar School, specialising on the Classical side. During his spare moments he collected and made a special study of Celtic tradition and symbolism. This love of Celtic Symbolism was inherited from his Highland ancestry. His ancestor, Ian MacGregor of Glenstrae, an ardent Jacobite, after the '45 Rebellion went over to France and under Lally Tolendal fought at Pondicherry. This ancestor was created Comte de Glenstrae by Louis XV. This French title was inherited by my husband and he always used it when living in France. As a young man

¹ Mathers was initiated on 4 October 1877 and became a Master Mason on 30 January 1878, just after his twenty-fourth birthday. He was elected to the Zelator grade in the Soc. Ros. on 20 April 1882 and chose the motto 'S Rioghal Mo Dhream.

he came into contact with Kenneth Mackenzie, with whom he had a strong occult link.¹ Kenneth Mackenzie, author of the Encyclopaedia of Masonry, had been a great friend of Bulwer-Lytton. After some years of seclusion in the country, where my husband led a student's life in preparation for his future work, he met Anna Kingsford, who introduced him to Madame Blavatsky. Madame Blavatsky invited him to collaborate with her in the formation of her Society. After deliberation, notwithstanding his profound admiration for that remarkable woman, this invitation he was compelled to decline. Their ideals were not the same. At that time he was more in sympathy with Anna Kingsford's ideals of esoteric Christianity and of the advancement of woman. Moreover he was profoundly interested in her campaign against vivisection, in which he vigorously aided her. Three or four years later he was told by his Occult teachers to transfer his centre to Paris, where my husband and I lived for the rest of his life.

The Headmaster of Bedford School confirmed that 'a boy called Mathers was at the School from Christmas Term 1866 until the end of the Summer Term 1870'. No further information is available in the school registers. Since Mathers was born in January 1854 he left school before his seventeenth birthday in January 1871.

It is improbable that Mathers's Jacobite ancestry and descent from the MacGregors of Glenstrae could be established by even the most determined genealogist. Thus Frederick Rolfe, who called himself Baron Corvo, and Samuel Liddell Mathers, who became Comte de Glenstrae and sometimes Comte MacGregor, were birds of a pseudo-aristocratic feather. Aleister Crowley was another of the magical fraternity who used bogus titles. In any case, Mathers was calling himself Comte de Glenstrae long before he migrated to Paris in 1892. For example, it appears on the Master Mason's certificate issued to him in 1878.²

Frederick Holland, whose name is mentioned above in Westcott's memorandum, scoffed at Mathers's tartan-hued pretensions in a letter written to Westcott from the Birmingham suburb of Moseley on 19 April 1910. The name of his house was 'The Athanor', so there may have been an alchemical laboratory in the cellar.

¹ 'Br. Liddell Mather [*sic*] was here last evening—he is a highly intelligent and earnest seeker into our favourite studies. I hope to see more of him—'Letter from Kenneth Mackenzie to F. G. Irwin, 20 November 1885.

² This document is in the possession of Mr Geoffrey Watkins.

I should *not* be surprised if he means that he has *invoked* (or perhaps thought so) the particular Glenstrae, and this information . . . has been vouchsafed to him through this channel. He never mentioned such *tosh* to me and knew better than to do so for I should have laughed him out of court . . . I have some recollection that they were a Warwickshire family and not far from here, but he would never say—but his cousin hinted at it.

Mathers's cousin Walter MacGregor Stoddart was a schoolmaster. He was in Paris during the years 1895–7 and may have been teaching there. Mathers referred to him as Walter MacGregor in letters to F. L. Gardner, perhaps to emphasise his Highland ancestry.

Anna Bonus Kingsford (1846–88), doctor of medicine, mystic and seeress was one of the most remarkable women of her generation.¹ Mathers must have met her soon after he came to London in 1885. She had been elected President of the still insignificant British Theosophical Society on 7 January 1883. It soon changed its name to the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society. Then Madame Blavatsky herself arrived in London in March 1884. Anna Kingsford's association with the Theosophical movement was brief because she could not stomach H.P.B.'s 'Mahatmas'. Thus in May 1884 she and Maitland founded the Hermetic Society, which concentrated upon the study of the western Hermetic tradition, which included the Cabbala. Its Honorary Secretary was W. F. Kirby who later joined the G.D. Mathers lectured to the society on the Cabbala during the summer of 1886 and was rewarded with honorary membership. A year later he dedicated his *The Kabbalah Unveiled* to its founders.

It is possible that it was Mathers who told Anna Kingsford that it might be possible to destroy, meaning murder, the French scientist Louis Pasteur by using magical techniques. Apart from Mathers there would have been few in her circle who supposed that they knew the theory of the business. Pasteur used dogs in his laboratory for vivisectionist purposes and must be removed. Something may have been attempted because Edward Maitland, her biographer, claimed a partial success on her behalf.²

Loyalty to Anna Kingsford may have prevented Mathers from becoming much involved in Madame Blavatsky's affairs. However her *The Secret Doctrine*, 1888, shows that he discussed the finer points

¹ See Edward Maitland, *Anna Kingsford: Her Life, Letters, Diary and Work*, 2 vols, 1896.
² *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 246–7 and 271–3.

of cabbalistic lore with her before his own book was published in 1887.

As for Mrs Mathers's statement that he was 'told by his Occult teachers to transfer his centre to Paris', Annie Horniman, who paid the piper but failed to call the tune, would have proposed another and more correct version. The facts are given in chapter 9.

Although Mathers wrote an enormous amount that was circulated privately in manuscript form in the G.D., he published very little. His first book was *Practical Instruction in Infantry Campaigning Exercise*, 1884, which I shall mention again in this chapter. It was followed in 1885 by *The Fall of Granada: A Poem in Six Duans*, which appeared under the London imprint of Williams & Strahan. It was dedicated to Miss Alice M. Willett Adye 'as a slight but most sincere token of the author's respect, admiration and esteem'. Few contemporary poetasters can have embellished their verses with such learned footnotes.

His first important book was *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, 1887. George Redway, a small London publisher who specialised in occult works and also sold them second-hand, bought the copyright for thirty-five pounds. The eleventh impression appeared under the Routledge & Kegan Paul imprint in 1970. During 1888–9 Redway acquired two further copyrights from Mathers: *Fortune-telling Cards. The Tarot, its Occult Significance and Methods of Play*, 1888, and a translation that was published as *The Key of Solomon the King: Clavicula Salomonis*, 1889. The Tarot book was an insignificant pamphlet. A recent American edition is currently available.

The author of an obituary article published in the *Occult Review* (April 1919) soon after Mathers's death in Paris on 20 November 1918—the writer was undoubtedly A. E. Waite—recalled meeting Mathers at the British Museum Reading Room during the 1880s:

It must be confessed that I grew curious as to the identity of this strange person, with rather fish-like eyes, and more especially as to what he was after. Some other melancholy votary of that sanctuary made us known to one another in the end, and he proved to be S. L. Mathers, for the MacGregor prefix had not as yet been adopted. I suppose that we must have spoken of occult books or subjects in one of the corridors, for he said to me in a hushed voice and with a somewhat awful accent: 'I am a Rosicrucian and a Freemason; therefore I can speak of some things, but of others I cannot speak.' . . . However, we got slightly acquainted, and the more I saw of

him the more eccentric he proved to be. I remember comparing him in my mind to a combination of Don Quixote and Hudibras, but with a vanity all his own. He would accost me suddenly, to deliver the inspiration of the moment. One of them concerned his great military ardour and his intention to join the French Zouaves in Africa, that he might spend 'the rest of his life fighting and that sort of thing' . . . I met him one morning wearing a scarlet tie, to which he pointed proudly because it was assumed as a symbol of his fighting instincts, which he had proved unable to gratify in any more practical manner. We encountered on another occasion, he staggering as usual under a load of books, and he said: 'I have clothed myself with hieroglyphics as with a garment,' so I inferred he was then deep in Egyptology.

W. B. Yeats was another who saw Mathers for the first time at the British Museum, probably in 1899. Yeats described their encounter in *Autobiographies*:

At the British Museum Reading-Room I often saw a man of thirty-six or thirty-seven, in a brown velveteen coat, with a gaunt resolute face, and an athletic body, who seemed, before I heard his name, or knew the nature of his studies, a figure of romance. Presently I was introduced, where or by what man or woman I do not remember. He was called Liddell Mathers, but would soon, under the touch of 'The Celtic Movement', become MacGregor Mathers, and then plain MacGregor. He was the author of *The Kabbala Unveiled*, and his studies were two only—magic and the theory of war, for he believed himself a born commander . . . I believe that his mind in those early days did not belie his face and body—though in later years it became unhinged, as Don Quixote's was unhinged—for he kept a proud head amid great poverty.

One that boxed with him nightly has told me that for many weeks he could knock him down, though Mathers was the stronger man, and only knew long after that during those weeks Mathers starved.¹

¹ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, p. 226. Mathers also fenced. A member of the Peel family who was a candidate for admission to the G.D. fenced with him and won the match. 'The house of Peel prevailed, and in the person of this particular scion was for ever disqualified as a Candidate for the G.D.'—A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 125. For Mathers's view that a Magician must keep himself physically fit, see p. 128, 133 below.

Yeats joined the Golden Dawn in March 1890 and got to know Mathers well. In *Autobiographies*¹ he recalled that

Mathers had much learning, but little scholarship, much imagination and imperfect taste, but if he made some absurd statement, some incredible claim, some hackneyed joke, we would half-consciously change claim, statement, or joke, as though he were a figure in a play of our composition. He was a necessary extravagance, and he carried further than any one else a claim implicit in the romantic movement from the time of Shelley and Goethe; and in body and in voice at least he was perfect; so might Faust have looked in his changeless aged youth. In the credulity of our youth we secretly wondered if he had not met with, perhaps even been taught by, some old man who had found the elixir. Nor did he undeceive us. 'If you find the elixir', he was accustomed to say, 'you will always look a few years younger than the age at which you found it. If you find it at sixty you will look fifty for a hundred years.'

Waite recalled Mathers's 'great military ardour' and Yeats his interest in 'the theory of war'. In 1884 as S. Liddell Mathers he published *Practical Instruction in Infantry Campaigning Exercise* (City of London Publishing Co.), a translation from a French manual which he carefully adapted to conform with British military terminology. Beneath his name on the title-page we find 'First Hants Infantry Volunteers'. When I discovered the photograph (Plate VI) in the Private Collection I was reminded of the reference to Mathers having been a lieutenant in a Hampshire volunteer regiment in Leo Vincey (i.e. Aleister Crowley), *The 'Rosicrucian' Scandal*, 1911.² I assumed that the photograph showed Mathers in the uniform of a lieutenant in the First Hampshire Infantry Volunteers and was surprised when I could not find his name in contemporary issues of the *Army List*.

I sent a copy of the photograph to the National Army Museum where it was examined by Miss E. Talbot Rice and Mr W. Y. Carman. It then emerged that Mathers was wearing the uniform of a full lieutenant of the Volunteer or Militia Artillery. Miss Talbot Rice searched for Mathers's name in every available publication but could not discover it. The inference is that Mathers was a private or perhaps

¹ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, p. 232.

² This scurrilous but amusing pamphlet provides a fanciful account of the legal action (March 1910) in which Mathers unsuccessfully tried to procure an injunction to prevent Crowley from publishing details of the 5° = 6° Second Order initiation ceremony in *The Equinox*, I, iii, March 1910.

an N.C.O. in the First Hants Infantry Volunteers, probably before he left Bournemouth in 1885, and that he was masquerading as an artillery lieutenant when the photograph was taken in London. Thus the picture represented his private fantasies of military prowess rather than the truth.

The last of the three Chiefs was Dr William Robert Woodman, who was never as active in the Order as Westcott or Mathers. He was born in 1828, studied medicine in London and qualified in c. 1851. He became Secretary of the Rosicrucian Society in 1867 and succeeded R. W. Little as its Supreme Magus when the latter died in 1878.

When the Rosicrucian Society was founded in 1866 he was practising medicine at Vittoria Villas, Stoke Newington, but moved to Exeter late in 1871. An uncle who was the proprietor of a well-known horticultural nursery had died and Woodman was his heir. He was back in London by 1887.

In his first Soc. Ros. pamphlet (1900) Westcott described him as a student of 'old Hebrew philosophy [i.e. the Cabbala], of Egyptian antiquities, and familiar with the works of the Gnostics, Platonists and Neo-Platonists; he had studied curious medieval science such as astrology, alchemy and the Tarot'. However much he knew about these matters, he revealed nothing of his knowledge in either series of *The Rosicrucian*, which he edited jointly with R. W. Little.

The Golden Dawn in the Outer 1888-96

A. E. Waite recalled the gossip that was current, perhaps not in 1888 but certainly soon after.¹

In Theosophical and kindred circles, the rumours of an Occult Order making great pretences were abroad in those days. Obscure persons were placing cryptic sigils after their names in unexpected communications, as if to test whether I was already a member. Dark hints were conveyed in breathless murmurs. A disciple of Thomas Lake Harris was disposed to be confidential if he could obtain licence. People from the North, one of whom made spectacles, went so far as to say that those who knew could speak and referred to one.² Rough customers from the Lowlands of Scotland talked about strange things in the modern world. It transpired presently that MacGregor Mathers—who had assumed the additional patronymic presumably to sustain the cause—was something to do with this darkly glittering business. The name of Wynn Westcott also loomed remotely. Mathers was like a comic Blackstone of occult lore and Westcott like a dull owl, hooting dolefully among cypresses over tombs of false adepts.

Westcott made an oblique reference to the G.D. at a meeting of the Metropolitan College of the Soc. Ros. on 11 October 1888. That evening he read a short paper on *Die Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer aus den 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderten*, 1785, and exhibited a copy of the book that had once belonged to the Rev. Woodford.³

The one I show you was once in the possession of the

¹ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 124.

² The 'cryptic sigils' may have been the G.D. grade numerals, 0° = 0°. 1° = 10° etc. T. L. Harris (1823-1906) was a well-known American mystagogue. His disciple was Dr Edward Berridge, a London homoeopathic physician. The spectacle-maker was T. H. Pattinson, of Bradford, a zealous member of the Soc. Ros. and the Theosophical Society who was in fact a watch- and clock-maker and repairer.

³ *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, Transactions of the Metropolitan College*, 1888-9, p. 19.

Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, M.A. He was a very learned Hermetist, and a member of a very ancient universal Rosicrucian Society, composed of students of both sexes, whose English name is unknown except to members of it; but its Hebrew title was ChaBRat ZeReCH BoQR (Society of the Shining Light of the Dawn), and its students are now known in England as 'Hermetic Students of the G.D.'. I learned from him that it consisted of students and adepts only, and possessed no merely honorary or ornamental members. It was, I believe, his association with this sodality, that rendered him inattentive to my repeated requests that he should join our Rosicrucian College, which he deemed a mere exoteric institution, for he was the last man to neglect a means of increasing his store of occult knowledge.

All of this was intentionally misleading. The G.D. was not a 'very ancient universal Rosicrucian society' but had been founded only a few months before. Nor could Westcott have learned anything about the G.D. from Woodford because he himself was its founder. Woodford had not refused to join the Soc. Ros. because it was esoterically inferior to the G.D. He had been a candidate for admission to the Soc. Ros. in April 1885, long before the G.D. was projected, but did not go any further in the matter. Finally, he was never a member of the G.D. and died on 23 December 1887, three months before the first initiates were recruited.

The following communication, which was published in *Notes and Queries* on 8 December 1888 above the name of Gustav Mommsen, might have been 'planted' there by Westcott.

A SOCIETY OF KABBALISTS.—Johann F. Falk succeeded to the directorate of a secret society of students of the Kabbalah about 1810, in London, I believe. Its name was 'Chabrah Zereh aur bokher', as nearly as Hebrew can be put into English. The late Eliphaz Levi, of Paris, was concerned in it later on. Is this society still in existence?

Westcott's reply appeared in the issue dated 9 February 1889.

The order of mystics which gave Eliphaz Levi (Abbé Constant), his occult knowledge, and of which Johann Falk was at one time the Lecturer on the Kabbalah in London, is still at work in England. It is not a Masonic order, and there is no distinction between men and women students. The greatest privacy is maintained, and some knowledge of Hebrew is essential, but the

whole course of study and experiment is so abstruse and complex that membership is very limited as to number, and the proceedings have no public interest. Its true name is only told to initiates, and the few outsiders who have heard of its existence only know of the society as 'The Hermetic Students of the G.D.'.

Once again a spurious antiquity was attributed to the Order. Next, since Westcott clearly knew all about the 'Hermetic Students' and provided his own address, any reader of *Notes and Queries* who was sufficiently curious had only to write to him. Drafts of two letters that could then be sent to prospective members are in the Private Collection.

Westcott identified himself a 'Praemonstrator of the Kabbalah to the Isis-Urania Temple of the G.D.' in the 1889-90 issue of the Soc. Ros. *Transactions* (p. 15). This publication, which had a small circulation and was published privately, would not have been seen by members of the general public.

An intriguing announcement of the existence of an Order calling itself 'The Hermetic Students of the G.D. in the Outer' appeared in the June 1889 issue of Madame Blavatsky's Theosophical periodical *Lucifer*. It was carefully stage-managed and was printed in connection with the denunciation of an obscure group of 'occultists' at Keighley, Yorkshire. A correspondent who signed him- or herself as 'One who has been duped' had sent a long letter of complaint about the activities of the Keighley 'Ros Crux Fratres'. The communication was shown to Mathers, who was temporarily the Secretary of the Metropolitan College of the Soc. Ros., perhaps in order to learn what he had to say about the activities of a rival 'Rosicrucian' group. His 'official statement' was published in the same number. The person who had been duped alleged that the Keighley Fratres practised Black Magic and sacrificed kids.

They are also untiring in telling how they can raise Elementals, and they are on the point of forming a circle for obtaining information of a forbidden kind. The Society is composed of Spiritualists and bogus Astrologers . . . In the beginning of the year 1888, they started a magazine entitled 'The Lamp of Thoth', which they issued monthly, price one shilling.¹ It existed

¹ *The Lamp of Thoth*, being the Magazine of the 'Ros Crux Fratres', edited by 'Zanoni'. Office: 14 Park Wood Street, Keighley, 15. Vol. I, Jan.-June 1888; vol. II, no. 1, July 1888 (all published). Each issue consisted of 60 pages reproduced from hand-writing by the primitive cyclostyle process. This must be the rarest of all British occult periodicals.

for seven months and then fell through. Nearly all the matter it contained was copied from occult books, and that which was said to be original was nothing but Black Magic or nonsense.

In *Lucifer* these surprising disclosures were followed by a letter from Mathers who vigorously denied any connection between the Soc. Ros. and the sham Rosicrucians at Keighley. However, he did more than write on behalf of the Soc. Ros. because *Lucifer* clearly identified him as the source of the following manifesto:

The Hermetic Students of the Rosicrucian G.D. in the Outer

The Chiefs of the Second Order fearing that the proceedings of certain men in the Northern Counties of England may by exhibition of pretended powers and Rosicrucian dignities lead students away from the Higher Paths of Mysticism, into Goetic [i.e. Magical] practices, desire that all Fratres and Sorores of the G.D. will accordingly warn the unwary and uninitiated that no such persons hold any warrant from us, nor possess our ancient and secret knowledge.

Given forth from the M. . A. .

of

Sapiens dominabitur astris [Fräulein Sprengel]

Deo duce comite ferro [Mathers]

Non omnis moriar [Westcott]

Vincit omnia veritas [Woodman]

Published by order of the above: Sapere Aude [Westcott],
Cancellarius in Londinense.

The initials M. . A. . referred to 'the Mystic Mountain of Abiegnus, which is the Mountain of God in the Centre of the Universe, the sacred Rosicrucian Mountain of Initiation'.¹

But for the publication in *Lucifer* it is unlikely that the nonsense at Keighley would have attracted any attention. My assumption is that Mathers, with Westcott's approval, was merely contriving a little suitably mysterious publicity for the G.D.

The last minute availability (see Preface) of the parchment roll containing details of the London Isis-Urania Temple's membership between March 1888 and January 1910, also the more detailed list of all the G.D. members between March 1888 and September 1897 has provided much information that was hitherto missing. Table 1

¹ Aleister Crowley's definition in *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, p. 209.

shows the number of initiations for all the G.D. Temples during the nine years from 1888 to 1896. The figures in brackets indicate the number of women members.

The records show that the Osiris Temple at Weston-super-Mare had only a brief life, while at Edinburgh the Amen-Ra Temple expanded very rapidly during 1895-6. The number of active members at any given time cannot be stated since the dates of resignations or deaths are not invariably given.

Table 1. Initiations for all G.D. Temples 1888-96

	Isis- Urania London	Osiris Weston- super- Mare	Horus Brad- ford	Amen-Ra Edin- burgh	Athathoor Paris	Total
1888	32 (9)	8	11	—	—	51
1889	14 (4)	—	2 (1)	—	—	16
1890	14 (11)	2	8	—	—	24
1891	23 (18)	—	12 (5)	—	—	35
1892	22 (6)	—	9	—	—	31
1893	14 (8)	—	3 (1)	7 (3)	—	24
1894	29 (9)	—	6	7	2 (2)	46
1895	22 (9)	—	3 (3)	14 (8)	5 (2)	44
1896	19 (10)	—	3	20 (9)	4 (1)	46
	189 (84)	10	57 (10)	48 (20)	11 (5)	315 (119)

A typed document in the Private Collection dated 2 September 1893 headed 'Erasures from the Roll of the G.D. in Anglia' shows that by that date approximately 170 people had been initiated in all the existing Temples. Twenty-three resignations were recorded, three had been 'excluded' and twenty-three had demitted. I infer that those who had demitted had left the Order without formally resigning. There had also been seven deaths, including that of 'No. 4 Sprengel'. Since Westcott must have announced her decease it was necessary to include her name in the list. Hence at that time the Order appears to have had c. 124 active members.

The first four names inscribed on the parchment roll and entered in the manuscript book were those of Mathers (No. 1), Westcott (No. 2), Dr Woodman (No. 3) and Fräulein A. Sprengel (No. 4). By the end of March 1888 the membership of the G.D. totalled nine. The first to be initiated in the Isis-Urania Temple were Miss Mina Bergson ('Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum'), later Mrs MacGregor Mathers, and Miss Theresa Jane O'Connell ('Ciall agus neart'). By the end of

the year at least a dozen Soc. Ros. members had joined. Mrs Alexandra Mackenzie ('Cryptonyma'), K. R. H. Mackenzie's widow, was one of the earliest initiates and was probably invited to join as a compliment to her husband's memory. She never progressed beyond the Neophyte grade and resigned in 1896. Three of the first recruits were a Dane (J. Hermann Simonsen), an Englishman resident in Switzerland and yet another with an address at Jerusalem. None of them was in the Order for very long.

Apart from the Rev. W. A. Ayton, who joined together with his wife Anne in July 1888, during the Order's early days there was another clergyman in the person of the Rev. Dr T. W. Lemon, of Plymouth, who was also in the Soc. Ros.

Perhaps the most surprising discovery of all was the name of Mrs Constance Mary Wilde, the wife of Oscar Wilde, who joined in 1888 and had reached the senior Philosophus grade by November 1889. Her entry includes the statement 'In abeyance with the sympathy of the Chiefs'. It is possible that her worldly husband had learned about her occult interests and had raised objections.

Most of the members had conventional middle-class backgrounds but there were a few with high social pretensions. However, the claim to a title did not guarantee the Chiefs' approval. The Countess de Brémont, who joined in November 1888, was soon told to resign. The Baroness de Pallandt left in April 1893 after two years' membership and Westcott wrote 'no good' against her name in the register. The Hon. Mrs Ivor Herbert was in the G.D. for a year (1889-90) and might have remained longer had she not gone to Canada with her husband. The Hon. Miss Gabrielle Borthwick ('Sine Metu') joined the Isis-Urania Temple in July 1891 and eventually reached the Second Order in 1897.

There were two foreign noblemen in the persons of Count Franz Otto Bubna (initiated December 1889) and Baron Alphonse Walleen, a Dane who joined Isis-Urania in June 1890 and soon resigned. In August 1893 he was 'excluded from re-admission by ballot'. During the early 1900s he had a finger in Rudolph Steiner's obscure pseudo-Masonic activities.¹ Possibly the most exotic initiate was the Nawab Mahomet Eusouf, who joined Isis-Urania in March 1890 and resigned six months later.

Mr William Crookes, a Fellow of the Royal Society—he was knighted in 1897—already a famous scientist and prominent member of the Society for Psychical Research, took the Neophyte grade in

¹ See Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England: 1887 to the Present Day*, 1970, pp. 101-6.

Isis-Urania in June 1890 and had allowed his connection with the G.D. to lapse by September.

The year 1890 was particularly memorable in the G.D.'s annals since it witnessed the admission of three people who were later to be particularly prominent members of Isis-Urania. They were Miss Annie Horniman ('Fortiter et Recte', January), William Butler Yeats ('Demon Est Deus Inversus', March) and Mrs Florence Farr Emery ('Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data', July), known to a wider public as the actress Florence Farr. All of them introduced friends to the G.D. Indeed, it is tolerably sure that Yeats was Florence Farr's sponsor. Others he brought to the Order included the beautiful Maud Gonne ('Per Ignem Ad Lucem' November 1891), whom for years on end he vainly hoped to marry. She, however, was too dedicated to the cause of Ireland's freedom to contemplate marriage to him or anyone else at that time. George Pollexfen ('Festina Lente'), his uncle, joined in December 1893. There was, too, his father's and his own close friend Dr John Todhunter ('Aktis Heliou', February 1892). Formerly a physician but now a minor poet he had emigrated from Dublin to London in 1888 and helped Yeats senior to find a house close to his own at Bedford Park in the quiet West London suburb of Chiswick.

The first of the fourteen medical men, apart from Westcott and Woodman, who were in the G.D. before 1900 were Dr T. W. Coffin, a London physician who was also in the Soc. Ros., Dr George Dickson who practised at Edinburgh, and Dr Bogdan Jastrzebski Edwards of Bradford.

Dr Robert Masters Theobald ('Ecce In Penetralibus') was initiated in 1893. He originally intended to become a Nonconformist minister but was expelled from a theological college because he refused to believe in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. Later he was in bad odour with the medical Establishment because of his advocacy of the 'Electro-homoeopathic' theories of an Italian quack called Count Caesar Mattei. He also believed that Bacon wrote the works of Shakespeare. His consulting rooms were at 5 Grosvenor Street, Mayfair. His fellow homoeopath Dr Berridge may have introduced him to the Order. Dr Charles Lloyd Tuckey, yet another homoeopathic practitioner—his consulting rooms were at 33 Green Street Mayfair—joined the Isis-Urania Temple in July 1894. He was the author of *Psycho-Therapeutics, or Treatment by Sleep and Suggestion*, 1889.

I have searched in vain for a book with the invigorating title *Our Morning Bath* by Dr Henry Pullen Burry, who was initiated in

the Isis-Urania Temple on 27 November 1892. By 1895 he was one of the Order's most active members. The extraordinary magical career of Dr Robert William Felkin, who joined the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh on 10 March 1894, is described at some length later in this book.

Apart from W. B. Yeats the Order harboured few writers of any distinction during its early period. Mrs Violet Tweedale joined the Isis-Urania Temple in September 1889, before she began to publish a long series of second-rate novels. J. H. Fitzgerald Molloy, the author of *Court Life Below Stairs*, in four volumes, 1882-3, and many other books of a popular nature including *A Modern Magician: A Romance*, 1887, became a member of Isis-Urania in 1893 and resigned two years later. Neither Arthur Machen ('Avallaunius', I.-U. 21 November 1899) nor Algernon Blackwood ('Umbra Fugit Veritas', I.-U., 30 October 1900) was ever very prominent in the G.D. and both joined when the Order's most interesting period belonged to the past.

Weston-super-Mare, a quiet seaside resort in Somerset, might appear to be an unexpected place for a G.D. Temple in 1888, but it was the home of Benjamin Cox, the Town Accountant or Borough Treasurer, who was an enthusiastic occultist and member of the Bristol College of the Rosicrucian Society. On 25 March 1888 he wrote to his friend F. G. Irwin, yet another local 'Rosicrucian' occultist, and announced Westcott's impending visit on G.D. business:

I hope Br. Westcott may have something interesting to impart other than what you already know, yet I am doubtful of his ability to teach me much occult knowledge, for up to the present time I have not found any one who has taught *real* practical knowledge of the sublime mystery of the Great AIO . . . I have promised Bro. Westcott I will join the G.D. circle as he particularly wishes me to do so, and he has written to say that he will see me at W.S.Mare on Tuesday evg. next.

Cox's next letter to Irwin, dated 20 April 1888, showed rather more interest in Westcott's plans.

I told Westcott that I could get five or six [Masonic] brethren to become members of the G.D. Order. I have received a dispensation to initiate 4: last evening with the assistance of Frater Jones¹ I conferred the o = o on Bro. Dr Nunn, so as to

¹ Sidney Jones, of Regent Street, Weston-super-Mare, had already been initiated in London. He died in November 1891.

have the assistance of *two* Fratres when Bros. Capell, Blackmore and Millard were initiated. I have the Ritual and Lecture of the History of the Order. I should *very much* like for you to assist in the ceremony of initiation of the three other candidates some day next week if agreeable to yourself. In a letter received from Bro. Westcott (today) he told me that I was the *only one* on whom the Chiefs of the Order have conferred the 1° = 10°, or Hierophant, in England without first having to undergo an examination for proficiency for the same—even Westcott had to undergo an exam. I can tell you more about the Order, should you care to know.

Hence Westcott's 'Historic Lecture for Neophytes', with all its fanciful information, was already being circulated by March 1888. As for the local G.D. recruits: Dr Edward Smith Nunn was the headmaster of a local school called 'The College'; he died before September 1893. James Partridge Capell was probably a solicitor and William Millard was the landlord of the Three Queens Hotel.

Cox's next letter to Irwin (13 September 1888) reveals the writer's great enthusiasm for the G.D. and the fact that he had attained the 3° = 8° grade. He was waiting to learn that his examination papers for the 4° = 7° grade were satisfactory. He passed the test because the printed summons for the G.D.'s Equinox Ceremony, which was to be held at the Three Queens Hotel on 27 September, was issued by 'Crux Dat Salutem, 4° = 7°, Hierophant for Somerset'.

A name for the Temple at Weston-super-Mare had still not been chosen by the end of November 1888. Cox wrote to Westcott about this on 30 November. He was hoping to be promoted to the 5° = 6° grade and may have learned that T. H. Pattinson at Bradford was already an Adeptus Minor.

You suggest in your letter of 26th inst. that the name of No. 4 Temple should be either Osiris, Hermes, Minerva, Phoenix, Serapis or Thoth. I think the most appropriate would be 'Osiris Temple No. 4' or 'Hermes Temple No. 4', of no great matter which be selected. Do you see any objection to a dispensation being issued at once for naming the Temple and for stated meetings to be held until you could attend next Spring for the formal consecration &c. &c.

Relative to the 5 = 6 I am content to wait until convenient to yourselves.

You say that you could nominate me 5° = 6° provisionally and put off real consecration for a future time. If you think this will give a better standing for our Temple you can do so or let it stand over. Whichever you think best.

It was decided to call the Weston-super-Mare Temple 'Osiris No. 4'. The last surviving letter from Cox to Westcott is dated 17 June 1889. He was still full of fervour for the G.D. and was busy composing a ritual for the 7° = 4° grade. He wrote: 'I think I have found sufficient matter for the 7° = 4° grade, viz. the situation of the Temple and its principle [*sic*] use. Yet it has been a very tough subject.' Since neither Westcott nor Mathers aspired to write a 7° = 4° ritual it is apparent that Cox, who was already identified with other pseudo-Masonic rites, such as the Sat B'hai and the Rite of Swedenborg had been using his imagination.

With only a handful of original members and a couple of later initiations Osiris No. 4 cannot have been a very active Temple. Benjamin Cox died in December 1895 and my assumption is that the G.D. soon came to an end at Weston-super-Mare.

Bradford was a more rewarding recruiting centre than Weston-super-Mare because the Rosicrucian Society's York College included a fair number of local Freemasons who were prepared to interest themselves in Westcott's G.D. project. Thomas Henry Pattinson, who was 8° *honoris causa* in the Soc. Ros. and soon to be Frater Vota Vita Mea in the G.D., was on friendly terms with both Westcott and Mathers. He was one of the first half dozen to be initiated in March 1888. By the end of the year the Horus Temple No. 5 at Bradford had about a dozen members. The Temple was formally consecrated by Mathers at a ceremony held at the Alexandra Hotel on 9 October. Carlo Faro, its landlord, joined the Order but resigned when he was declared a bankrupt in July 1893.

By the summer of 1891 the Horus Temple had about thirty members and was G.D.'s most important provincial outpost until the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh rapidly increased its membership in 1895-6.

Apart from the Rosicrucian Society the Theosophical Society was an important reservoir from which many of the early G.D. members, its women supporters in particular, were drawn. Since the G.D. was always very small by comparison with the T.S. the number of defections would have been so insignificant as to be hardly noticeable. However, it is evident that Madame Blavatsky soon had misgivings

about Westcott's little secret society, which was outside her sphere of influence and likely to remain so. Hence it may not have been altogether coincidental that she founded the so-called Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, perhaps as a counter attraction, on 9 October 1888. Membership of the E.S. was restricted to a few favoured individuals who were in her Blavatsky Lodge or otherwise close to her.

It happened that the Rev. W. A. Ayton was not only a member of the G.D. but also of the Esoteric Section. Furthermore, he was acquainted with T. H. Pattinson and the latter's friends in the Bradford district. Some years previously he had been the victim of certain swindlers who had been running a bogus Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor, which seems to have been indigenous to the Bradford and Leeds area. Pattinson made him a joining (honorary) member of the Horus Temple and this explains why Ayton referred to his 'Yorkshire *chelas*' in the letter printed below.

It was Ayton, then, who put the cat among the occult pigeons by telling Madame Blavatsky about his membership of the G.D. He mentioned the repercussions in a letter to F. L. Gardner (April 1889). Gardner was a keen Theosophist and still not heeding Ayton's suggestion that he should join the G.D. Ayton had a budget of news for his friend.

A short time ago an ukase was issued from the headquarters of the T.S., that members of the Esoteric Section should not belong to any other Occult Order. I at once wrote to say that I belonged to the Rosicrucian Society [i.e. the G.D.], but I was ordered to give it up, and I felt bound to do so at once without hesitation, and wrote to some of my Yorkshire *chelas*, who belonged to it and the T.S., to do the same. They were dismayed, and two of them went, as a deputation, to H.P.B. to remonstrate against this decision. H.P.B. then began to see that she had made a mistake and she wrote to me for advice, which I gave, and the consequence was, she withdrew this ukase as regards this Rosicrucian Society. The result was that Dr Wynn Westcott, the head of this Rosicrucian Society, joined the Esoteric Section of the T.S. and with him some 20 others, and about 14 from Yorkshire. All is well that ends well.¹

¹ Annie Besant and G. R. S. Mead, as joint secretaries of the Esoteric Section, wrote to Westcott on 19 August 1890 to inform him that Madame Blavatsky was willing to admit him to the E.S.'s 'Inner Group' as a probationer. There were conditions: 'that you abstain from meat-eating and preserve absolute chastity . . . that you preserve the strictest secrecy on the instruction given and the fact of your membership in the "Inner Group".'

There is now at Bradford a flourishing Lodge of this Rosicrucian Society and the Lodge is worked very well indeed by men who really know something. Dr Wynn Westcott is well known in Masonry and MacGregor Mathers, the learned Cabbalist, is also in it.

In a letter written to an unidentified member of the G.D. on 17 April 1888 Westcott mentioned what it then cost to join the Order: 'Fee for admission to 0° is 10s. Annual fee 2s. 6d. Sash 2s. 6d. [Copy of $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$] Ritual 5s. Historical address 2s.'

Apart from the Isis-Urania Warrant and the parchment membership roll the earliest documents for the London Temple are a few sketchy balance sheets for various periods between 23 August 1888 and 21 September 1893. It is unnecessary to reprint them here.

Between 23 August 1888 and 17 March 1889 income and expenditure were a little over £8. The income for the year ending c. 21 March 1890 was about £19. 'Total expenses to date including stationery and summonses for Meetings, Wine [for ritual purposes], Roses, Incense, Storage, removals of [Temple] furniture, printing and copying of Temple Rituals and Lectures £12 18s. 3d. Balance in hand £6 3s. 3d.'

Two documents, at first cyclostyled but later printed, were available for the information of candidates for admission. The Order's name was not revealed in either of them. All that was disclosed was that the Order was concerned with 'the study of Occultism and of the Mysteries of Life and Death' and was secret. After a lengthy preamble the prospective candidate for initiation read in the first document:

The Chiefs of the Order do not care to accept as Candidates any persons accustomed to submit themselves as Mediums to the Experiments of Hypnotism, Mesmerism; or who habitually allow themselves to fall into a complete Passive Condition of Will; also they disapprove of the methods made use of as a rule in such experiments.

The second document was the so-called Pledge Form. Upon signing this the candidate undertook to preserve complete secrecy as far as his or her proposed connection with the Order was concerned. The applicant was also asked to suggest, in writing, the motto by which he or she would be known in the G.D. A Latin one was considered preferable for reasons of brevity.

All who were admitted to the $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$ Neophyte grade in the

Isis-Urania Temple were required to read and sign a printed document headed 'Ordinances of the First Order of the G.D. in the Outer, London'. It is probable that the copy from which the following extracts have been taken was printed in c. 1890. No later versions are known. Here only a few paragraphs are reprinted, since the remaining ones could apply to almost any society or association.

1. The Isis-Urania Temple of the 'First Order of the G.D. in the Outer' is constituted and authorised to admit, enrol, and advance members, and pursue the study of the Occult Sciences by a Warrant delivered by the Greatly Honoured Chiefs of the Second Order to 'Three Chiefs', who are Very Honoured Adepts of the $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ grade. They are jointly and severally responsible for the government of the Temple.

3. Each candidate for admission to the preliminary $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$ grade of Neophyte must be approved of by The Three Chiefs [i.e. Westcott, Mathers and Woodman] and subsequently by the G.H. Chiefs of the Second Order [i.e. the same three persons] and must sign a preliminary pledge of fidelity to five declarations.

7. Members of the First Order cannot know *as such*, the members of any grade higher than that of Junior Adept $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$, which is the lowest of the grades of the Second Order of the G.D.

Thus the fiction was preserved that the Chiefs of the Second Order, who were $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$, were 'secret'. Members of the Outer Order who were subsequently promoted to $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ then learned that 'S.R.M.D.' was 'D.D.C.F.', that 'S.A.' was 'N.O.M.' etc, but could not disclose the fact to their juniors. It has been supposed that all members had different mottoes in the Outer and Second Orders. This happened very rarely; in fact, I have only found four instances apart from Westcott, Mathers and Woodman.

9. The Three Chiefs shall, every half year at the Equinox, appoint certain members to act as Officers of the Temple [i.e. to work the rituals] during the ensuing six months, their choice being guided by the grade, seniority, merit and assiduity of the candidate. The Three Chiefs shall, by mutual arrangement, fill the three offices of Hierophant, Hiereus and Hegemon, until such time as the Temple shall include other Adepts among its members . . . To constitute a regularly appointed Temple the following gradation is necessary: Hierophant $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$;

Hiereus 4° = 7°; Hegemon 3° = 5°; Kerux 2° = 9°;
Stolistes 1° = 10°; Dadouchos 1° = 10°.

The principal officers, who played leading roles in the working of the rituals, were the Hierophant, the Hiereus and the Hegemon. The Kerux, Stolistes and Dadouchos had far less to say and do.

All these titles were of ancient Greek origin. The *Hierophantes* was head of the Eleusinian cult and was assisted by a *Dadouchos*, i.e. torch-bearer. In the G.D. the latter's function was to attend to the 'Lamps and Fires of the Temple . . . to watch over the Censer and the incense'. The Greek equivalent for *Hiereus* means 'priest'. In the G.D. he was 'the Expounder of the Mysteries'. *Hegemon* means 'leader or general'. In the G.D. he supervised the preparation of the candidate: ' . . . assist in his reception and lead him in the Path that conducts from Darkness to Light'. *Kerux* means a herald; one of his functions in the ceremonies was 'to make reports and announcements'. A *Stolistes* was a priest who had charge of sacred vestments; in the G.D. he was responsible for seeing that the 'Robes and Collars and Insignia of the Officers are ready at the Opening'.

As a member passed from grade to grade, if he or she stayed the course, from Neophyte to Philosophus in five steps in the Outer Order, and after 1892 the Portal as a bridge between the Outer and Second Orders, followed by the 5° = 6° or Second Order admission ceremony, the first experience of any grade was its ritual. The instruction, the 'knowledge', belonging to that grade followed. Up to 1892 there could be the experience of five different rituals, after that year seven; in the first instance as a candidate, next as an onlooker according to a person's eligibility to witness this or that ceremony, and finally in the Outer Order as an active participant in the rituals.

Anyone who is sufficiently curious is advised to read the texts of the rituals in Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*, since no detailed analysis of their contents can be given here. They were not 'Magical Rituals' in the vulgar sense of the word, meaning that there was no element of 'conjunction', no tampering with 'dangerous forces', no 'sex magic'—in fact there was nothing that could not be safely experienced by any respectable middle-class lady who happened to join the G.D. during the non-permissive 1890s.

Dr Regardie describes their central theme as follows:

If one idea more than any other is persistently stressed from the beginning that idea is the word *Light*. From the candidate's

first reception in the Hall of the Neophytes when the Hierophant adjures him with these words: 'Child of Earth, long hast thou dwelt in darkness. Quit the night and seek the day', to the transfiguration in the [Second Order] Vault ceremony, the whole system has as its objective the bringing down of the Light. For it is by that Light that the golden banner of the inner life may be exalted; it is in Light where lies healing and the power of growth.

As far as the Outer Order rituals are concerned there is only one passage which might give cause for surprise; it might be described as at least blood-curdling. It will be found in the Neophyte's oath or undertaking.

All these points I generally and severally upon this sacred and sublime symbol swear to observe without evasion . . . under the awful penalty of voluntarily submitting myself to a deadly and hostile Current of Will set in motion by the Chiefs of the Order by which I should fall slain or paralysed without visible weapon, as if blasted by the Lightning Flash.

Of the five Outer Order rituals the one for the Neophyte grade seems to be the most effective. I have the impression that a candidate who experienced it might actually have a sensation of 'initiation', meaning into a world of hidden mysteries. It could be argued that as prose compositions these texts are often flatulent. However, at any given time there is never more than a handful of men capable of writing rituals of this kind and in his day and age Mathers was one of them. It is obvious that he drew heavily upon his Masonic experiences and memories, but this was perhaps inevitable, for where else would he have found ideas relating to non-liturgical 'ritual structure'.

Possibly the only people who have ever taken the trouble to read these rituals are occultists and those who have a special interest in W. B. Yeats. However, in their strange way these texts belong to the minor literature of the 1890s, in the same way that the G.D. has its own modest place in the social history of the period.

Members of the G.D. in the Outer were required to study the following subjects and to pass examinations in order to advance through the successive grades from Neophyte to Philosophus: elemental occult symbolism (i.e. alchemical and astrological), the Hebrew alphabet, the Cabbalistic Tree of Life with its ten Sephiroth and twenty-two Paths, the Divine Names attributed to the Sephiroth,

the attributions of the twenty-two Tarot Trumps (i.e. their supposed correspondences with the twenty-two Paths), Geomancy and so on. The material is outlined in detail in the first volume of Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*.

The only instruction that could conceivably be called 'magical' was the practice of a simple 'Pentagram Ritual with the Cabbalistic Cross'. This was taught to the Neophyte immediately after initiation so that he might 'form some idea of how to attract and come into communication with spiritual and invisible forces'.



Some Initiates

Few members of the G.D. left any public record of their experiences in the Order. This is not a matter for surprise. They had pledged themselves to secrecy and in later years when the Golden Dawn of the 1890s was merely a memory, perhaps there did not seem very much to say.¹ Again, most of these people were very obscure persons, whose names are only known because of the chance survival of their letters and references to them in G.D. documents. There were exceptions such as W. B. Yeats and Annie Horniman, but their subsequent fame lay ahead of them.

A few of the more important members of the cast who appeared on the stage of the 'magical theatre' devised for them by the Greatly Honoured Fratres Non Omnis Moriar and Deo Duce Comite Ferro are now introduced.

The Rev. W. A. Ayton, whom Kenneth Mackenzie admired as a 'profound occultist', has already been mentioned. W. B. Yeats described him as 'an old white-haired clergyman, the most panic-stricken person I have ever known'. Mathers had presented him to Yeats with the words: 'He unites us to the great adepts of the past'.² Adept or not, he was both gentle and gullible, to which his involvement with the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor and other eccentric 'Masonic' promotions bear witness.

William Alexander Ayton was born in London on 28 April 1816 and was educated at Charterhouse School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. After holding a number of rural ecclesiastical appointments he became Vicar of Chacombe, a small village near Banbury, in 1873.

He and his wife joined the G.D. in July 1888. On 3 November 1888 he wrote to Westcott:

¹ George Cecil Jones, who joined the G.D. in July 1895, told Mr John Symonds, Aleister Crowley's biographer, in the late 1940s that the G.D. was 'a club, like any other club, a place to pass the time in and meet one's friends'. Mr Symonds observed: 'If it was a club, it was a very unusual sort of club.'—*The Great Beast*, 1951, p. 22.

² W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, pp. 227-8, where Yeats recorded what Ayton told him about his alchemical experiments.

We shall be very glad to give you a call and see the original [Cypher?] MSS. when next in London and have a talk generally . . . We shall also be glad to know, as soon as convenient, the day and hour of meetings of the G.D. We do not want to be from home longer than is necessary. Soror Q.P.A. joins me in kindest regards.

Ayton's motto was 'Virtute Orta Occidunt Rarius'; his wife's was 'Quam Potero Adjutabo'. His advanced age—he was seventy-two when he joined the Order—and clerical duties did not permit frequent visits to London to attend G.D. meetings, but for a time he and Mrs Ayton were present at the Equinox ceremonies.

The many letters he wrote to F. L. Gardner between March 1889 and November 1905—he was approaching his ninety-third birthday when he died in 1909—tell us a good deal about his alchemical interests but relatively little about the G.D. A few extracts from letters in which the Order is not mentioned follow:

12 April 1889. I have just heard today that a chemist of occult proclivities, a Theosophist, has just succeeded in making some incense, the formula for which was given him by H.P.B.[lavatsky]. He had not before been able to get the drugs, one of which was Verbena, which he had to get from Spain. I had given it up as he had not succeeded . . . He sent me a little and it is in powder. It goes out directly, but I daresay he will be able to tell me how to do it.

16 April 1889. Wilson [the chemist] is going to get me a platinum cup for burning it in like what he has. H.P.B. told him that any other metal would set free the Elementals. A spirit lamp is burned under it.

29 May 1889. [Gardner and his wife had just returned from a visit to Paris] I am glad that you escaped poisoning from the waters of the Seine, and the terrible dangers of the streets of Paris . . . We would not go there on any account.

29 June 1889. Quantity is a *sine qua non* in making the quintessence of Balm, and I fear that you must defer it till another year . . . You could get Balm in Covent Garden market I suppose, but it would not have been gathered in the Planetary hour.

28 January 1890. I should like to see your new Tarot . . .

10 April 1890. You ask me about a process you have read

lately. It is not usual to put anything on paper, and I am constrained to keep to the old Rule. I have lately had a strange reminder in a mysterious way, that I am treading very close upon the regions of the Gnomes, and that if I reveal too much, there exists a power which can inflict sudden death. As I have sought only the Elixir of Life, this is the more strange, but it behoves me to be careful. I can say this much, that you are certainly on the right road, but so have I been for this 50 years. I got no further because I was not physically prepared for it . . .

All these pre-Reformation [alchemical] writers were Monks. The Monasteries, under pretence of being Xtian societies, were in reality Schools of Magic, and latterly almost entirely of Alchemy, at least the greater part of them. The post-Reformation writers copied them often without understanding them, with variations, to make the ignorant believe they were their own. They have not enlightened us much more, if any. One or two have revealed rather too much, but their writings were soon suppressed or bought up, and are not to be had.

If you were to try to put into practice from what you know, you would find failure after failure in the details. There are the initial difficulties as to the furnaces. If you look into this part of the subject, you will see how difficult it is. All the old writers tell you: 'The regimen of the fire is the most important part.' From my experience, I believe that without a personal preparation, it is vain to attempt it.

A friend of mine who is upon this line, was making experiments in a room next to that in which were his wife and children, and it did not succeed. He is also in communication with intelligences in or out of the flesh, and gets the most extraordinary knowledge given him. One of these intelligences told him that the reason he did not succeed was because of the too great contiguity of his family. There are conditions necessary of which the generality of seekers have no idea.

If I felt sure you were in right earnest in seeking the necessary personal conditions, I should be very glad to give you the benefit of my experience and practice, but I *dare* not do it in writing, nor except under the most inviolable secrecy. The difficulties in the practice are immense and inconceivable except to those who have made attempts at it.

7 February 1891. The [alchemical] furnace you saw here is only

of use for one thing. Nothing has given me more vexation and annoyance than that furnace.

I have been unable to discover what brought Mina (later she called herself Moina) Bergson, the sister of Henri Bergson, the French philosopher, to London, or when she became a pupil at the Slade School of Fine Art. No. 5 in the membership roll, Soror Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum was the senior initiate after the three Chiefs and 'Fräulein Sprengel'. At the beginning of a memorandum written on 14 July 1898, which described her earlier relationship with Mathers and Vestigia, Annie Horniman recalled:

Early in October 1882 at the Slade School, University College, Gower Street, I made the acquaintance of Mina Bergson. In the beginning of 1888 she introduced Mr. Mathers to me as an interesting man whom she did *not* want to marry . . . They became engaged . . . In about June 1890 they were married and lived at Stent Lodge, Forest Hill.

Ayton mentioned the marriage in a letter to F. L. Gardner (21 June 1890): 'We have been busy having Miss Bergson here for the time required by Law for the Publication of Banns of Marriage, which ended in Mr. MacGregor Mathers coming down last Monday and carrying her off.'

There can be no doubt of Vestigia's devotion to her eccentric husband. Years later Westcott remarked in a letter to F. L. Gardner (25 October 1924): 'Mrs. Mathers was obsessed by Samuel Liddell M—.' There may be some truth in this statement.

By 1892, apart from the Chiefs, two men and two women had become particularly prominent and active in the Order. In order of seniority they were Dr Edward Berridge, Miss Annie Horniman, Mrs Florence Emery, who was known to the general public as the actress Florence Farr,¹ and Percy Bullock. In June 1894 they were holding important positions in the Isis-Urania Temple. Since Mathers was permanently absent in Paris and Westcott was busy running the Second Order, the Temple was now being governed by members other than its founders.

Dr Berridge was described by Aleister Crowley, who was seldom an unprejudiced witness, as 'an ill-reputed doctor on the borders of

¹ Since she is best known by her maiden name, in this book she is almost invariably referred to as Florence Farr.

quackery'.¹ He studied medicine at St Bartholomew's Hospital and qualified in 1867. The first edition of his *Complete Repertory to the Homoeopathic Materia Medica* was published in 1869. The second (1873) edition contains an appreciative note by Dr R. M. Theobald, who joined the G.D. twenty years later. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century homoeopathic medicine attracted both qualified and unqualified practitioners who were identified with occultism.

The second edition's title-page contains the information that Berridge was a 'Doctor of Medicine (By Examination) of the Homoeopathic College of Pennsylvania'. The status of this degree is uncertain. It is possible, however, that Berridge was in the U.S.A. during the early 1870s and may well have encountered Thomas Lake Harris, the protagonist of a sexual-pneumatic philosophy apparently so obscure that the authors of the standard biography never managed to explain its exact nature.² Berridge's evident sympathy for Harris and his teachings was mistrusted by Annie Horniman. Indeed, it was her long-standing feud with Berridge that eventually led, in part, to the breakdown of her very special relationship with Mathers.

Between 1882 and 1920 Berridge practised in the Bayswater district: until 1903 at 48 Sussex Gardens and afterwards at 193 Gloucester Terrace. He became a member of the G.D. in May 1889.

In her memorandum of 14 July 1898 Annie Horniman mentioned that Mina Bergson had introduced her to Mathers at the British Museum early in 1888. It was at about this time that Westcott and Mathers began their G.D. recruiting campaign.

A few days later a friend (not an occultist) went with me to the studio which she was sharing with Miss Offor. There he asked me to join the G.D. I wrote and refused to do so for the present. They became engaged. He came to our house with her one day and took an interest in my father's collections.³ In

¹ *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, ed. by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, p. 642.

² See H. W. Schneider and G. Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim: being the Incredible History of Thomas Lake Harris and Laurence Oliphant; their Sexual Mysticism and Utopian Communities amply documented to confound the Skeptic*, 1942. My impression is that Harris advocated what was later known as 'Carezza', i.e. sexual intercourse with neither movement nor orgasm.

³ F. J. Horniman's collection of ethnographical, archaeological and zoological objects, in which Mathers was briefly employed as a curator in c. 1890-1, formed the nucleus of the present Horniman Museum at Forest Hill. Its founder presented the collection and the surrounding estate to the London County Council in 1901. No documents relating to Mathers's connection with the museum survive.

Dec. 1889 I determined to join the Order having received much kindness from them both. In a very painful part of my life they proved themselves to be very considerate friends. I was initiated during January 1890 at Vestigia's studio in Fitzroy Street. In the hired room below I took my 1 = 10 and 2 = 9 grades. In about June 1890 they were married and lived at Stent Lodge, Forest Hill; there I took my 3 = 8 and 4 = 7 grades [the last in July 1890].

It may be noted that decisions to join occult or esoteric Orders are not uncommon in the case of women experiencing emotional difficulties. Her relationship with her father was unsatisfactory and I have the impression, but no more, that she had been involved in an unhappy love affair. In any event she never married.

Annie Elizabeth Frederika Horniman was born on 3 October 1860. She became a pupil at the Slade School and remained there until 1886. She was the daughter of Frederick Horniman (1835–1906), the head of a famous tea importing and packing firm. She persuaded her father to employ the indigent Mathers in his private museum and thus made it possible for him to marry Mina Bergson.

St John Ervine, the theatrical critic who knew Annie Horniman well in later years, described her character in his Introduction to Rex Pogson's *Miss Horniman and the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester*, 1952. Neither he, nor Mr Pogson, nor the author of her article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, were aware of her former connection with the G.D., although the last two knew of her continuing pre-occupation with astrology. St John Irvine wrote:

She was essentially a rebellious woman . . . She always rebelled against unreasonable authority, but never, be it particularly noted, against authority that had reason. She rebelled against the restrictions that her parents sought to impose upon her, and she rebelled even more heartily against those imposed upon her sex by society.

Apart from her emotional troubles it was consistent with her rebellious temperament that this member of a rich Quaker (but latterly Church of England) family should have joined a society like the G.D. She also rebelled against Mathers's dictatorial rule long before anyone else in the Order summoned up the courage to do so.

Her love of the theatre was significant for the Isis-Urania Temple

during the period when Florence Farr and she were respectively Praemonstratrix and Sub-Praemonstratrix, hence its principal instructors in ritual. In some respects the ritual ceremonies were like complicated theatrical performances. Thus to achieve the proper effect correct diction and dignified movement and posture were of great importance, as F. L. Gardner in due course painfully discovered.

Her annual visits to the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth began when she was still at the Slade School and continued with only one interruption until 1914. The Bayreuth productions of *Parsifal* and the 'Ring' cycle were almost 'ritual' events, and there must have been echoes of these experiences in one part of her G.D. work.

Florence Farr (b. 7 July 1860), who was to be associated with Annie Horniman's first professional theatrical venture in 1894, joined the Order in July 1890. It is probable that she was introduced to the G.D. by W. B. Yeats, who was himself a very recent member. At Bedford Park, in the quiet west London suburb of Chiswick, there was a red-brick clubhouse with a small theatre and Yeats persuaded his friend Dr John Todhunter, who was to join the Order in 1892, to write a pastoral play for presentation there. His *A Sicilian Idyll* was staged at this theatre with Florence Farr in the leading female role on 5 May 1890, almost exactly two months after Yeats became a member of the G.D.

According to Joseph Hone, Yeats's biographer:

Yeats knew her already, and, until he met Maud Gonne, had been accounted in love with her by his sisters. After the performance in *A Sicilian Idyll* he thought of her as a collaborator in the theatre, by reason of her unfashionable art, to the plays he would one day write. They formed an enduring friendship in which were at times tender passages, and always on his side some exasperation because she seemed to set a higher value on her wit and intellectuality than on her incomparable sense of rhythm and her musical voice.¹

G. B. Shaw was less impressed:

I made desperate efforts to work up Florence's technique and capacity for hard professional work to the point needed for serious stage work; but her early life had been too easy. I failed

¹ Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats, 1865–1939, 1942*, p. 74.

and had to give up worrying and discouraging her. She found the friend she really needed in Yeats.¹

Yeats published some brief recollections of her during the 1890s in *Autobiographies*:

Florence Farr lived in lodgings some twenty minutes' walk away at Brook Green, and I soon became a constant caller, talking over plays that I would some day write her. She had three great gifts, a tranquil beauty like that of Demeter's image near the British Museum Reading-Room door, and an incomparable sense of rhythm and a beautiful voice . . . She would dress without care or calculation as if to hide her beauty and seemed contemptuous of its power. If a man fell in love with her she would notice that she had seen just that movement upon the stage or had heard just that intonation and all seemed unreal.² If she read out some poem in English or in French all was passion, all a traditional splendour, but she spoke of actual things with a cold wit or under the strain of paradox. Wit and paradox alike sought to pull down whatever had tradition or passion and she was soon to spend her days in the British Museum Reading-Room and become erudite in many heterogeneous studies, moved by an insatiable, destroying curiosity . . . Her sitting-room at the Brook Green lodging-house [123 Dalling Road] was soon a reflection of her mind, the walls covered with musical instruments, pieces of Oriental drapery, and Egyptian gods and goddesses painted by herself at the British Museum (p. 149).

If Annie Horniman had a rebellious temperament so, too, did Florence Farr. Shaw recalled that 'she was in violent reaction against Victorian morals, especially sexual and domestic morals'.³

¹ Florence Farr left her letters from Shaw and Yeats to Clifford Bax. Shaw contributed 'An Explanatory Word' from which the extract above is taken, to *Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw and W. B. Yeats*, ed. Clifford Bax, Dublin 1941, reprinted London 1946. Shaw's letters are more easily accessible in *Bernard Shaw, Collected Letters* ed. Dan Laurence, 1965.

² Florence Farr had been married to the actor Edward Emery but they had parted. Her liaison with Shaw lasted for several years (1891-5 or perhaps later). Their relationship coincided with the period when she was deeply involved in G.D. activities, although he does not appear to have known about this. In a will signed on 3 August 1913 he left her a yearly income of £104 (see Allan Chapelow, *Shaw 'The Chucker-Out'*, 1969, p. 481). She starred in the first London production of Ibsen's *Romersholme* (1891) and created the role of Blanche Sartorius in Shaw's first play *Widower's Houses* (1892).

³ *Florence Farr, Bernard Shaw and W. B. Yeats*, ed. Clifford Bax, 1946, p. ix.

So much has been written about W. B. Yeats's preoccupation with occultism that I need not cover any of the ground already discussed by others, or again describe the path that led him to the G.D. via Madame Blavatsky and the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society.¹

In *Autobiographies* Yeats stated that his G.D. initiation took place in May or June 1887 'in a Charlotte Street studio'. According to Miss Virginia Moore, who had access to Yeats's papers for her book *The Unicorn*, she found a note in his handwriting to the effect that it was on Friday 7 March 1890 at 6.30 p.m. at Fitzroy Street.² Annie Horniman has identified Fitzroy Street as the location of Mina Mathers's studio.

Yeats's connection with the G.D. and the Stella Matutina, one of its successor Orders, continued until the early 1920s. He was never very prominent in the Golden Dawn during the first decade of his membership, although he briefly took command in 1900-1 when there was a major crisis of confidence in Mathers and the Order was in danger of foundering.

Those who have concerned themselves with every aspect of Yeats's life and work are unanimous in their opinion that his G.D. 'experience' was of fundamental importance for his creative development. He expressed the essence of his debt to Mathers when he wrote in *Autobiographies*: ' . . . it was through him mainly that I began studies and experiences, that were to convince me that images well up before the mind's eye from a deeper source than conscious or subconscious memory'.

Again, there is an illuminating allusion to his attitude to Magic in a letter written to John O'Leary, the veteran Irish nationalist, in July 1892. Furthermore, he wrote this about six months before his Second Order initiation in January 1893, and it was in the Second Order that he and others learned more about 'Magic' than they would have ever thought possible.

Now as to Magic. It is surely absurd to hold me 'weak' or otherwise because I chose to persist in a study which I decided deliberately four or five years ago to make, next to my poetry,

¹ See Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939*, 1942 (the official biography in which his G.D. connection appears to have been played down); Richard Ellmann, *Yeats: the Man and the Masks*, 1949; A. Norman Jeffares, *W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet*, 1949; Virginia Moore, *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*, 1954 (informative but prolix for Yeats and occultism); H. R. Bachman, *W. B. Yeats and Occultism*, Delhi, 1965. W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, also includes useful information.

² Virginia Moore, *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*, 1954, p. 449, n. 67.

the most important pursuit of my life. Whether it be, or be not, bad for my health can only be decided by one who knows what magic is and not at all by any amateur . . . If I had not made magic my constant study I could not have written a single word of my Blake book, nor would *The Countess Kathleen* have ever come to exist. The mystical life is the centre of all that I do and all that I think and all that I write.¹

It was Yeats who brought the renowned Maud Gonne ('Per Ignem Ad Lucem') into the G.D. She was initiated in November 1891. In her autobiography *A Servant of the Queen*, 1938, she wrote:

By the time Willie Yeats had risen to be a member of the esoteric section of the Theosophists, he had discovered that there was another society where more practical magic might be learnt and he joined the G.D. of which MacGregor Mathers, an extraordinary Scotchman, was high priest. He persuaded me also to seek initiation—I passed four initiations and learned a number of Hebrew words, but there also I was oppressed by the drab appearance of my fellow mystics. Mrs MacGregor [Mathers] and Florence Farr, the actress, were exceptions. Algernon Blackwood, the writer of occult stories . . . and the Astronomer Royal of Scotland, Brodie-Innes, whose witch stories were exciting, lent a certain literary distinction to the G.D. but, being only an occasional visitor on my short hurried passages through London, I never met them.² The *fratres* and *sorores* who kindly made me welcome among them seemed to me the very essence of the British middle-class (p. 257).

Usually the G.D. held their ceremonies in the drawing-room of some member of the Order, but on one occasion I was summoned to an initiation ceremony of the Order in the Mark Masons' Hall in Euston Road. It set me thinking. If they met in a Free-Mason Hall, perhaps the G.D. was an esoteric side of

¹ *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. by Allan Wade, 1954, p. 210.

² Algernon Blackwood (1869–1951) was not in the G.D. in Maud Gonne's time. He joined in October 1900. On 2 March 1909 Dr R. W. Felkin mentioned him in a letter to J. W. Brodie-Innes: 'With regard to Blackwood I have not seen him for years but he still works with S[acramentum] R[egis] & Co.', meaning with A. E. Waite. Brodie-Innes was not Astronomer Royal for Scotland but an Edinburgh lawyer. She confused him with William Peck, who was the City or Municipal Astronomer and in charge of the Observatory there. He and Brodie-Innes were leading members of the G.D.'s Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh.

Masonry. I put the question to Willie as we went there together, but he, who had by then passed all his initiations into the higher esoteric side of the organisation, assured me it was not. Possibly, he said, the G.D. was connected with the Rosicrucians, but certainly not with Masonry.¹

Maud Gonne left the G.D. because it appeared to have Masonic affiliations, 'and Free Masonry as we Irish know it is a British institution and has always been used politically to support the British Empire'.

Percy Bullock ('Levavi Oculos'), who joined the Isis-Urania Temple in September 1890, was born on 11 October 1868 and was therefore only twenty-four years old when, as a 5° = 6° and member of the Second Order, he was Cancellarius of the Isis-Urania Temple in 1894. He became Sub-Imperator in succession to Dr Berridge in c. 1896. At this time he was a clerk, or possibly an unqualified managing clerk, with Slaughter and May, the well-known firm of City solicitors.

In *Shadows of Life and Thought* Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942) recorded what little he felt disposed to reveal of his own recollections of the Golden Dawn during the 1890s. In retrospect his memories of the Order, also of Westcott and Mathers, were completely negative. This was because his interests lay in the direction of mysticism rather than Magic.

When Waite ('Sacramentum Regis') first became a member of the G.D. in January 1891, only to resign soon after reaching the 4° = 7° grade in April 1892 and then re-join some years later, he was in his thirties and making a modest living from books that were read in Theosophical and allied circles. He had previously published a digest of Eliphas Lévi's writings (*The Mysteries of Magic*, 1885) and *The Real History of the Rosicrucians*, 1889. The latter, which was superior in every respect to Hargrave Jennings's *The Rosicrucians, their Rites and Mysteries*, did not endear him to the Magi of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, who complained that he had infringed their copyright by reprinting the Society's Rules and Ordinances. Furthermore, he recalled that Westcott and Mathers objected to what the former called his 'codification of Eliphas Lévi' because they did not regard him as an occultist.

Waite was never on very good terms with either Westcott or Mathers. 'Looking back at the days of my work on Lévi and that meticulous digest, it seems probable that [they] were right; that I was

¹ Maud Gonne MacBride, *A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences*, 1938, pp. 257–9.

certainly not an occultist after their manner; that I knew them sufficiently well to loathe their false pretences, their buskined struttings and their abysmal ignorance of the superstitious arcana which they claimed to guard.¹ That, at least, was how he saw them when he was an old man.

In spite of certain misgivings Waite was persuaded to join the Order.²

At that time . . . Dr Berridge, not unknown as a London homoeopathist at that period, began to impress upon me the importance of the G. . . D. . . and his willingness to put my name forward as a desirable member. It was impossible rather than difficult to connect Westcott and Mathers with any movement of real consequence . . . Whether there was the least need or desire to share therein is another question. In the end I agreed to join, with the not unexpected and not regrettable result of being refused promptly. The denial was taken by Berridge in no dejected spirit: my application must be repeated a second time, after a certain space. I was to learn later on that those of whom nothing was known were admitted readily, others with preliminary rejections which were cancelled afterwards.

Waite recalled that he was ultimately initiated at a house near the Horniman Museum. This would have been Mathers's home. He mentioned that he easily arranged the introduction of his wife 'within the secret circle, but she attended one Meeting only, and at that was tempted to hold up the whole galanty-show, in order to win her retreat'. She was initiated on 2 December 1891 but resigned in March 1892. Waite, however, remained in the G.D. for a while.³

It is difficult to recall clearly at this distance of time; but my belief is that I stood on the threshold of the Second Order, being that of an inner group, when I began to hear things which, in my several positions at the moment, told me that I should be well out of the whole concern. It was not on the score of morality, seeing that there were *Fratres et Sorores*; for on this ground it is just to say that no breath or scandal ever arose in the G. . . D. . . during all that period. It was a question of things which had an equivocal legal aspect and in which leading Members

¹ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

of the Order should not have been concerned, had I been informed accurately, as there seems no doubt that I was. I retired or rather demitted without explanation . . .

I assume that the 'things which had an equivocal legal aspect' referred to the practice of Ritual Magic, which began in the Second Order in 1892. It is possible, however, that Waite did not merely 'demit' but applied for membership of the Second Order and was not accepted. The list of those who had left the G.D. before 2 September 1893 includes the names of six persons who were 'in abeyance'. Mrs Oscar Wilde was one of them. Among the others there was Waite, who was then 'pending astral judgment re admission to 5 = 6', meaning the Second Order. Miss Emily Bates ('Pro Veritate') was also 'pending astral examination for 5 = 6'. Count Franz Otto Bubna was in a less complicated position since his state of abeyance was merely 'pending wife's decision'. He had reached the 4° = 7° grade in November 1890 and had been inactive since March 1892. The Countess presumably disliked his esoteric activities and he did not return to the Order.

Waite's account of his reappearance in the G.D. milieu in *Shadows of Life and Thought* is unreliable, probably because of a faulty memory in his old age. He wrote that he was persuaded to re-join by Robert Palmer Thomas.

He was a Railway official of one kind or another and lived in a moderate to small house at Horbury Crescent, Notting Hill Gate. It was essential, in his opinion, to escape from 'utter Bohemianism', and this was ensured by dressing for dinner on all or most occasions. He aimed at Culture, and we drank white Capri at his table. His main interest was in things occult, and he told me at an early stage that he was looking for the Rosy Cross. So far, however, his knowledge of Secret Societies, real or alleged, outside Masonry, seemed confined to the hand that he had had some years previously over the establishment of Portman's Order of Light . . .¹

It was at one of these dinner parties, his tongue no doubt loosened by white Capri, that Waite told Palmer Thomas a little about the G.D., from which he had already resigned. Then, according to Waite's memoirs, sometime later Palmer Thomas sent him an urgent message asking him to call. Waite was astonished to learn that his host had not only joined the G.D. but had reached an advanced

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 159. The Rev. Ayton was a member of this Order.

grade. Palmer Thomas assured him that he was missing experiences he would value, and of which he could not have known when he resigned. There was a meeting with Westcott, but Waite mentioned that it was a comparative stranger, in the person of Annie Horniman, who played a part in securing his return to what he described as 'the dubious fold'.¹

Waite, however, was 'readmitted by ballot' to the Outer Order on 17 February 1896 and Palmer Thomas did not find his way to the G.D. until the following November. Waite made no effort to proceed to the Second Order while Palmer Thomas became a 5° = 6° on 21 April 1898. It must have been after that date that he told Waite that he was missing valuable experiences. Frater Sacramentum Regis at last reached the Second Order on 3 March 1899.

It would never have occurred to anyone in the G.D. milieu at that time that he, of all people, would a little later achieve a position of prominence in what he liked to call 'secret circles'.

¹ Ibid., p. 126.

* * *

The Second Order

Ordo Rosae Rubae et Aureae Crucis

From 1892 the 'history' of the G.D. is almost exclusively that of the Second Order, or R.R. et. A.C. The G.D. in the Outer continued as in the past, but now also prepared selected candidates for advancement to the Second Order 'by invitation'. The latter was not only an even more secret affair than the G.D. in the Outer, but had a separate existence and its own premises. Hence its ceremonies were not conducted at Mark Masons' Hall.

The Second Order, in the form that it assumed in 1892, was Mathers's creation. He was its sole Chief. Westcott was simply Chief Adept in Anglia. He never claimed any responsibility for the organisation of the R.R. et A.C. In a letter to F. L. Gardner (5 April 1912) he wrote:

... Mathers brought from Paris the 5° = 6° Ritual and said it was the culmination of G.D. 0° = 0° to 4° = 7° and I carried on the 5° = 6° in England ... I make no claim to the 5° = 6° Ritual and authorship but I do claim right and precedence in the origin of the G.D. 0° = 0° to 4° = 7° derived from Woodford.

In his pamphlet *Data of the History of the Rosicrucians*, 1916, Westcott wrote: 'Frater D.D.C.F. [Mathers] in 1892, supplied the Ritual of an Adept Grade from materials obtained from a Frater L.E.T., a Continental Adept.'

Mathers visited Paris during the summer of 1891. Westcott copied brief extracts from two of his letters: The first reads: '30 July 1891. I have been much in communication with Frater Lux E Tenebris and other chiefs since I have been over here'; and the second (undated): 'You are right to have said you expected I was in contact with a higher adept.'

During the early 1900s it was supposed that Frater Lux E Tenebris was a certain Dr Thiesen, of Liège, Belgium, but I have not been able to identify him.

Mathers did far more than merely introduce the hitherto missing $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ ritual. He gave the Second Order a completely new status and offered its members, who were carefully selected, practical instruction in Ritual Magic.

Before 1892 senior members of the G.D. in the Outer were advanced to the Adeptus Minor $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ grade, subject to passing a fairly elementary examination based upon the Outer Order syllabus, 'Flying Roll No. 1', a document issued by Westcott in 1892, indicates the new distinction made between the nominal or 'honorary' $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ s, who were simply senior G.D. members, and those who were actually in the R.R. et A.C.

Anyone who being a $4^{\circ} = 7^{\circ}$ and passes five Examinations, becomes a nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$, and is competent to preside at First Order Assemblies [i.e. as Hierophant], wears a White Sash across a Black Sash, and has reached the top of the G.D. [in the Outer].

This may be quite properly common knowledge to the First Order Members.

But it is absolutely necessary that these First Order or G.D. members should remain in entire ignorance of the Ord. R.R. et A.C., the so-called Second Order, and should not be told who has, or has not actually entered the Second Order.

Adepts must not tell First Order Members:

1. that they have passed any further ceremony;
2. nor that they perform Practical Magic;
3. nor, when they meet;
4. nor where;
5. nor who is head of the Second Order.¹

The safest answer to all forms of question seems to be:

'If you belonged to the Second Order, you would know what you ask me; if you do not know, you do not belong—and if I did know, I could no more tell you, than a $1^{\circ} = 10^{\circ}$ can tell anything about it to a $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$.

¹ From MS. Flying Roll No. 1. The 'Flying Rolls' were R.R. et A.C. manuscripts. Many appear to contain the texts of lectures given at Second Order meetings. Most of them were written by Westcott and Mathers, although Mrs Mathers, Florence Farr, Percy Bullock, Dr Berridge and one or two others contributed to the series. The earliest known date for a Flying Roll is 10 November 1892. Thirty-four such documents were in circulation by the end of 1894. Mr Francis King published all or most of them in 1972 as *Astral Projection, Ritual Magic and Alchemy* S. L. MacGregor Mathers and Others. With the publication of these texts it might be said that the bottom of the G.D. barrel has been conscientiously scraped.

1. There are some very worthy nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ members who have never gone farther; they wear White Sashes; and members of $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ might accidentally tell them what should not be told.

2. There are some Philosophi [$4^{\circ} = 7^{\circ}$] who pass all the Examinations and are nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$, of whom it is possible that the Chiefs would not approve, and so have no chance of full Second Order membership.

The List of full Members of $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ is in the Library, and so every Adept should know if a person be a full Adept or not. Complete silence is the only safe course, with anyone you have not actually met in the Vault.

The development of the new Second Order Scheme reflects Mathers's inventive ability. He found it necessary to have a bridge between the G.D. in the Outer and the R.R. et A.C. and for this he created an unnumbered Portal grade, for which he wrote a special ritual. The next stage was initiation in the R.R. et A.C. and for this there was another new ritual. Mathers's composition for the $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ is by far the most interesting of all the G.D. ceremonies. It will be found in the second volume of Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*.

By c. 1894 the $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ Adeptus Minor grade in the Second Order was divided into two sub-grades. Upon admission the new member became a Zelator Adeptus minor, abbreviated Z.A.M. Subject to passing eight examinations—F. L. Gardner needed about twenty months to complete the course during 1895–7—he or she could be promoted to the senior grade of Theoricus Adeptus Minor (Th.A.M.).¹ The syllabus was formidable and no similar *corpus* of Magical instruction had ever been available in the past. An even more advanced curriculum for a projected $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ Practicus Adeptus Minor grade was devised in c. 1896–7—its details will be found in Appendix II—but the Second Order's examination system was beginning to founder by 1897 and it is unlikely that anyone ever took this veritable 'Diploma Course'.

The five officers of the Temple who worked the Portal ceremony were impressively attired. The Chief Adept, for example, wore a white cassock, the red cloak of a Hierophant, a yellow and white Nemyss (Egyptian head-dress) and yellow shoes. A Rose Cross lamen or symbol was attached to a yellow collar. He bore a sceptre decorated with the five elemental colours (black, blue, red, yellow and

¹ With the exception of Mrs Mathers, to whom her husband awarded the $6^{\circ} = 5^{\circ}$ Adeptus Major grade, no one was advanced beyond $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ Theoricus Adeptus Minor.

white) surmounted by a pentagram. He was also furnished with a white lamp, a brazier and a candle.

One of the chief features of this ritual was 'Paroketh', the Veil of the Temple, a curtain behind which the Chief Adept remained concealed for most of the time. At intervals, however, his hand could be seen when, parting the curtain slightly, he showed the white lamp or the candle or 'made Pentagram sign with torch'.

The following extract from the preliminary proceedings, described as 'The Ritual of the Cross and the Four Elements', shows Mathers's ability to devise complicated 'stage directions'.

Hegemon returns to place. 2nd and 3rd Adepts bar the way in south-west. Asks for $3^{\circ} = 8^{\circ}$ [pass] words. 3rd Adept comes forward and conducts Philosophus [the candidate] to West. Gives Philosophus a cup of water, directs him to go round repeating the Words while he remains standing in [i.e. making] the $3^{\circ} = 8^{\circ}$ Sign. Philosophus returns to West. 3rd Adept makes invoking Pentagram over Cup. Philosophus removes shade from Light. 3rd Adept takes him to Altar where he places the cup in the West. 2nd and 3rd Adepts bar way and ask for $4^{\circ} = 7^{\circ}$ Words. 2nd Adept comes forward and conducts Philosophus to South, 3rd remaining at Altar in $3^{\circ} = 8^{\circ}$ Sign, while Hiereus and Hegemon come to North and East of the Altar and stand in the Grade Signs. 2nd Adept in the South gives Philosophus incense, makes a Cross over it. Philosophus walks round repeating $4^{\circ} = 7^{\circ}$ Words while 2nd Adept stands in $4^{\circ} = 7^{\circ}$ Sign. Philosophus returns South and removes shade. 2nd Adept takes him to the Altar, directs him to place Incense at South. He takes Cross from Philosophus' neck and places it in the midst of the Four Elements. Philosophus is directed to stand West of Altar in $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$ Sign; 3rd Adept behind Philosophus. The Four Officers in Grade Signs.

Soon after this the 'Rite of the Pentagram and the Five Paths' was performed. The candidate now learned that he or she was a 'Lord (or Lady) of the Paths of the Portal of the Vault of the Adepts', but was told nothing about the Vault. He was also shown a symbol of the Red Rose and Cross of Gold but its significance was not explained. He was informed, too, that he might in due course be 'admitted to the fellowship of that other Order to which the Golden Dawn is one of the Veils', but 'of this matter you have no right to speak to any below your degree'.

The Christian Rosenkreuz legend, as adapted by Mathers, provided the climax or denouement for the new $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ initiation ritual. The following summary of the legend is based upon a modern German text of the *Fama Fraternitatis*, first published at Cassel in 1614.¹

THE CHRISTIAN ROSENKREUZ LEGEND

Christian Rosenkreuz, the son of noble but poor parents, was placed in a monastery at the age of five and there learned some Greek and Latin. When he was still a youth a certain Brother P.A.L. took him on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Brother P.A.L. died in Cyprus. The lad continued the journey alone and arrived at Damascus, where his medical skill was highly esteemed. There he learned of the Wise Men at Damcar in Arabia and made his way there. By this time he was sixteen years old. He was given a warm welcome, not as a stranger, but as if he had been long expected. They already knew his name and much to his surprise told him of secret things relating to his old monastery. He learned Arabic and was able to translate the *Liber M* into Latin. He also greatly increased his knowledge of the natural sciences and mathematics.

After three years at Damcar he left and went to Egypt, but did not remain there for long. His friends at Damcar had told him about Fez, whither he now journeyed. At Fez, once again, he learned much secret knowledge. Two years later he left for Spain where he discoursed with scholars and learned men but did not arouse their interest.

(At this point in the narrative the author of the *Fama* mentioned that while Paracelsus was not a member of 'our fraternity' he had nevertheless assiduously read the *Liber M*.)

Brother C.R. then returned to Germany where he built himself a light and airy home and wrote an account of his travels and philosophy. He studied mathematics and constructed 'many beautiful instruments.'

Three Brothers from his old monastery joined him as disciples and helpers: Brothers G.V., I.A. and I.O. They pledged

¹ The authorship of the *Fama Fraternitatis* is ascribed to Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654). The legend has provided dubious background material for perhaps a dozen post-1880 'occult' fraternities, some of which have been purely commercial operations. It is evident that none of their promoters had ever read the original 'Rosicrucian' literature, let alone the few serious modern commentaries. For the latter see the footnote on p. 26. The latter-day 'Rosicrucian revival' still needs detailed investigation as a psychological and sociological phenomenon.

themselves to keep secret all they learned from him, but to write it carefully in a book for the benefit of their successors.

Thus the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross began with four people. They wrote on Magic, also the first part of the *Liber M.* The work, however, was onerous and its progress was interrupted by the many sick people who came for medical treatment. Now, since their new building, called the 'Sanctus Spiritus', was ready, they decided to accept a few others into their Fraternity. The new members were Brother R.C., a nephew of the Order's founder, Brother B., an accomplished painter, Brothers G.G. and P.D., who worked as secretarial assistants, and finally Brother I.A. So there were eight in all; unmarried and pledged to chastity. Together they wrote a library of books on every conceivable subject. One particular work, known as the *Axiomata*, was considered to be of the greatest importance.

Their tasks completed the Brethren went their various ways, leaving Brothers B. and P.D. with Father Rosenkreuz. Before they departed a number of rules were formulated: 1. None of the Brethren was to exercise any profession but that of medicine and they were forbidden to accept payment for their skill; 2. no distinctive dress was to be worn, instead they were to follow the custom of the country in which they were residing; 3. there was to be an annual gathering of the Fraternity at the 'Sanctus Spiritus' on the Day of C.; 4. each Brother was to be on the look-out for a person worthy to succeed him when he died; 5. the initials R.C. were to be their seal, their password and their deepest concern; 6. the Fraternity was to remain secret for a hundred years.

In due course Brothers B. and P.D. also departed, but the nephew and Brother I.O. remained with Father R.C. and while he was alive two Brothers were always with him.

I.O. was the first of the Brethren to die and, as Father C.R. had predicted, in England. He was very learned in the Cabbala as his *Liber H.* shows. There were many stories about him in England, e.g. that he cured the young Count of Norfolk of leprosy.

The date of Father R.C.'s death was unknown. All that a later generation of Brothers knew about him was from what was available in the library, and of the books there the *Axiomata*, the *Rotae Mundi* and the *Proteus* were regarded as the most useful.

There came the day when Brother N., who was a skilled architect, was about to go on a journey. Before he left he decided to make some alterations to the building.

While the work was in progress he found a bronze tablet on which was inscribed the names of all who had belonged to the Brotherhood. A large nail protruded from the tablet. When it was pulled out and the tablet lifted away, and with it a large piece of plaster, a door was discovered. On the door they beheld an inscription: 'Post Centum Viginti Annos Patebo' [After 120 years I will manifest], and beneath those words a date.¹

The next morning they opened the door and discovered a seven-sided Vault, each side being 8 ft. high by 5 ft. across. And although the Sun had never shone in this Vault, it was illuminated as if by sunlight from the middle of the ceiling. In the centre of the Vault there was a circular altar.

Each of the seven walls was divided into ten rectangles and on each of the latter were symbols and inscriptions.² Again, in each of the seven walls was a door concealing a chest containing various objects, e.g. all their books, a copy of the *Vocabularium* of Paracelsus, the MS. journal with the record of Father R.C.'s life and journeys, mirrors with strange [magical?] qualities, small bells, burning lamps etc. Everything had been left so that in the event of the Order disappearing it could be reconstructed even centuries later.

They moved the circular altar, lifted a heavy bronze plate and beheld the body of Father R.C., which was in a perfect state of preservation. In his hand he held the *Liber T.*, written with letters of gold on parchment. They replaced the bronze plate on the coffin, moved the altar back into position, shut the door of the Vault and sealed it.

So much for the legend of Christian Rosenkreuz. As we shall discover, the Vault, or at least Mathers's conception of it, was the central feature of the 5° = 6° ceremony. Furthermore, some twenty years later a member of the R.R. et A.C. attempted a symbolical repetition of Father R.C.'s mythical journey to the Middle East and yet another, who was convinced that he knew the location of the

¹ The date does not appear in the *Fama*.

² In *The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, 1924, pp. 132-3, A. E. Waite wrote: 'Architecturally speaking, the interior of this Vault is not described intelligently', meaning in the *Fama*. His next remark is typical of him: 'It is, however, an emblematic story and in secret circles it has long since been rectified.' By 'secret circles' he meant the G.D.

original Vault, set off to find it. Both these episodes are described later in this book.

The dramatic moment in Mathers's R.R. et A.C. ritual came when the candidate was confronted with the body of Father Christian Rosenkreuz, in the person of Westcott or Mathers, lying motionless in a coffin—always known as the Pastos—in the Vault of the Adepts, which was Mathers's fantastic 'reconstruction' of Father R.C.'s tomb.

The Vault, as conceived by Mathers, who was probably helped by his artistic wife, was nothing less than extraordinary. My description, which is largely based upon rough colour sketches of its various components in members' notebooks of the 1890s, omits an analysis of its incredibly involved symbolism. For the latter the reader is referred to Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*, while Aleister Crowley's *The Equinox* (III, i, 1910) is also useful. What we are now concerned with was, in effect, a seven-sided 'chamber' that was eight feet high and large enough to afford space for a coffin, above it a circular altar, and at least four persons.

According to the *Fama Fraternitatis* Mathers had to contrive within an area of eight by five ft. ten rectangles, containing symbols and inscriptions, on each inside wall of the vault. Since this was mathematically impossible he provided forty square areas arranged in eight rows of five. A glance at Fig. 3 shows that the symbolism, which is common to each wall, is cabbalistic (cf. the 'Tree of Life' pattern of the ten Hebrew letters representing the Sephiroth), alchemical and astrological.

The most interesting feature of all was the occult colour scheme used for each wall. Mathers had a formidable knowledge of everything relating to the lore of occult colour correspondences and made his own synthesis from many different sources.¹ A specific colour was allotted to each symbol with a complementary colour for its rectangular background; both being taken from so-called occult colour scales. Thus every rectangle was given a two-colour treatment except one which required four colours. Next, a different third colour was applied to each of the seven walls, and this was based upon planetary colour correspondences, e.g. Saturn/indigo, Jupiter/violet, Mars/scarlet, etc. The hand-coloured illustrations of the Vault walls in old G.D. manuscripts show a sort of harlequin effect.

¹ In a letter to F. L. Gardner (18 November 1896) he mentioned eighteen old works that gave the 'Scales of Colour attributed to Planets and Zodiac', adding that 'The Rosicrucians have the true knowledge of this.' There is no reference to these theories in the *Fama*.

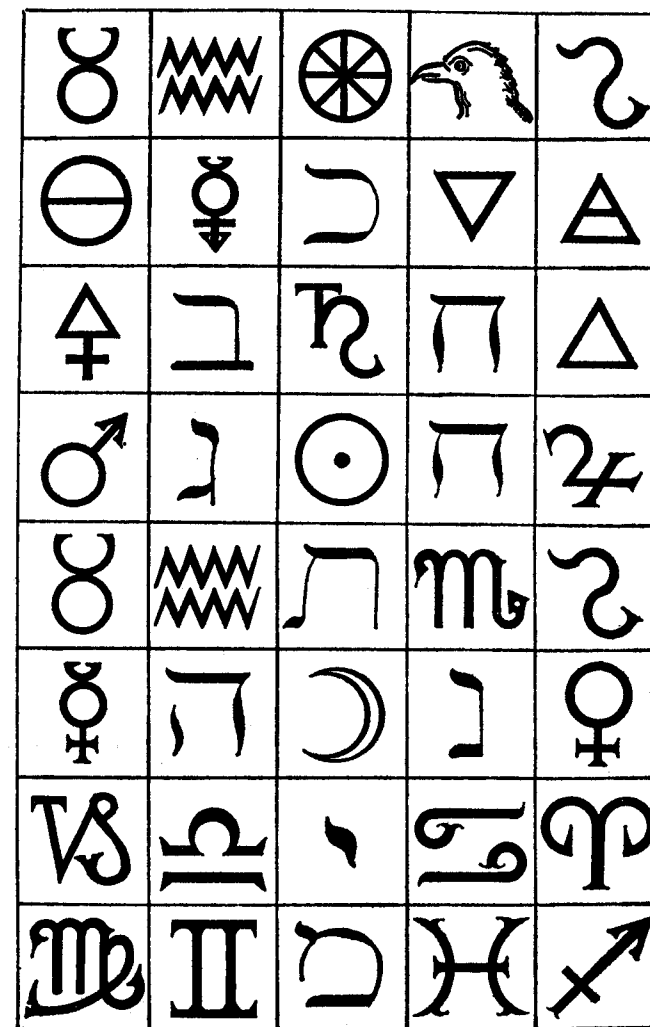


Figure 3 The symbols on each wall of the Vault of the Adepts

The ceiling was painted a brilliant white. In the centre was a transparent Rose with twenty-two petals (cf. the twenty-two Paths in the Tree of Life and the twenty-two Tarot Trumps). In effect this was a lamp. The Rose was enclosed in a triangle painted black and the whole was surrounded by a heptagram, also painted in black.

There was a black floor decorated with a symbolical design painted in white, yellow and red: 'The Great Red Dragon with seven heads' in red, a 'Golden Cross united to the Red Rose of forty-nine petals', all enclosed in a heptagram.

This 'Rose and Cross' theme was constantly repeated in the decoration of the Vault.

Above the Pastos (coffin), which stood on the floor of the Vault, there was a circular altar fitted with castors so that it could be easily moved. Four large coloured discs, each surrounded with a gold outline, were painted on its surface. On the red disc there was a green lion's head, on the yellow disc a male head in purple, while the blue and black ones incorporated the heads of an eagle and a bull in orange and white respectively. (Cf. the symbolism on the Warrant, Plate IV.)

Certain objects were placed upon the altar, e.g. a black Calvary cross to which was fixed a rose of twenty-five petals, each petal being in a different colour according to an occult colour scale, a Crook and Scourge, also painted with a multi-colour effect, a cup, a dagger, etc.

The exterior head end of the Pastos was painted white and decorated with a golden Greek cross which incorporated a red rose with forty-nine petals. At the opposite end on a black background there was a white Calvary cross upon a pedestal of three steps.

The right-hand side of the Pastos, both inside and outside, was divided into rectangles of different sizes and painted in twenty-two different hues representing the so-called Positive Scale of Colours, while the outer and inner left side were painted in as many colours which reflected the Negative Scale.

The lid of the Pastos was adorned with a complicated symbolical diagram.

Any candidate who beheld the Vault's amazing interior for the first time must have been filled with wonder. In any case it represented a unique repository of occult symbolism.

A. E. Waite, who was disposed to criticise rather than admire most things connected with the G.D., and who became a fervent Freemason after 1902, was not without respect for what Mathers had created. In his autobiography he wrote: '... it could not be denied that the

culminating grade [i.e. $5^\circ = 6^\circ$], as the system was then developed, had the root-matter of a greater scheme than had ever dawned in the consciousness of any maker of Masonic Degrees under any Grand Lodge or Chapter, Conclave or Preceptory, in the whole wide world.¹ Here the important words are 'greater scheme'. As a symbolical synthesis of Hermetic lore Mathers's new ritual, with its 'theatrical' apparatus, i.e. the Vault, was quite unlike anything that any 'manufactory, mint or studio of Degrees'—this phrase is Waite's—had ever contrived before.

The ritual took the form of an Opening and three Points or sections. In the Opening, at which the candidate was not present, while the Chief Adept remained concealed, the Second and Third Adepts made a number of statements about the Tomb of the Adepts:

The Tomb of the Adepts is the symbolic Burying Place of Christian Rosenkreutz, which he made to represent the Universe. He is buried in the Centre of the Heptagonal Sides and beneath the Altar, his head being toward the East. He is buried in the Centre because that is the point of balanced forces. The Mystic Name of Christian Rosenkreutz signifies the Rose and Cross of Christ; the Fadeless Rose of Creation, the Immortal Cross of Light. This place was entitled by our still more ancient Fratres and Sorores, the Tomb of Osiris Onnophris, the Justified One. The shape of the Tomb is that of an equilateral Heptagon, a figure of Seven sides. The Seven Sides allude to the Seven Lower Sephiroth, the seven Palaces, and the Seven Days of Creation. Seven is the height above. Seven is the depth beneath. The Tomb is symbolically situated in the Centre of the Earth, in the Mountain of the Caverns, the Mystic Mountain of Abiegnus.

The candidate was admitted to the Temple at the beginning of the First Point. 'The Tomb is prepared as before, but [the door] closed, and the curtains drawn.' At this stage it could not be seen by the candidate. Previously he had been given a written text which he was told to read 'loudly and firmly', and he now emphatically demanded to be admitted to the Second Order.

Hear ye all that I, the Honoured Frater . . . stand before you, being a member of the $4^\circ = 7^\circ$ Grade of the First Order, the Highest Grade of the Golden Dawn in the Outer, a Philosophus;

¹ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 161.

one qualified to fill the important post of Hiereus in a Temple of the First Order, one who hath passed the five examinations prescribed between the First and Second Orders, and hath been declared Lord of the 24th, 25th and 26th Paths in the Portal of the Adepti. I bear a written recommendation from the Chiefs of my Temple guaranteeing my qualifications, honour and fidelity; as also an attestation of my having passed the Pentagonal Examination. By virtue of these honours and dignities, I now come to demand my reception and acknowledgement as an Adeptus Minor of the 5° = 6° Grade of the Second Order.

His demand, however, was immediately rejected and he was led away, soon to appear again dressed in a plain black robe with a chain round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. After listening to a homily on the virtues of humility the candidate was led to a large wooden cross, his hands were put through running nooses and cords bound round his waist and feet. This was a symbolical crucifixion. 'Two Adepti stand on either side to support him, and the Third Adept takes his place ready to hand Cup and Dagger to Second Adept who stands in front of and facing the Aspirant.' The candidate, bound more firmly to the Cross, now took the Oath or Obligation, which included the following passages:

That I will keep secret all things connected with the Order and its Secret Knowledge, from the whole world, equally from him who is a member of the First Order of the Golden Dawn, as from an uninitiated person, and that I will maintain the Veil of strict secrecy between the First and Second Orders.

Furthermore, that I will perform all practical work connected with this Order in a place concealed and apart from the gaze of the outer and uninitiated world, and that I will not display our Magical Implements, nor reveal the use of the same, but will keep secret this Inner Rosicrucian Knowledge even as the same hath been kept secret through the ages; that I will not make any symbol or Talisman in the Flashing Colours for any uninitiated person without a special permission from the Chiefs of the Order. That I will only perform any practical magic before the uninitiated which is of a simple and already well-known nature; and that I will show them no secret mode of working whatsoever, keeping strictly concealed from them our modes of Tarot and other Divination, of Clairvoyance, of Astral projection, of the Consecration of Talismans and Symbols, and the Rituals

of the Pentagram and Hexagram, and most especially of the use and attribution of the Flashing Colours and the Vibratory mode of pronouncing the Divine Names.

I further promise and swear that with the Divine Permission I will, from this day forward, apply myself to the Great Work—which is, to purify and exalt my Spiritual Nature so that with the Divine Aid I may at length attain to be more than human, and thus gradually raise and unite myself to my higher and Divine Genius, and that in this event I will not abuse the great power entrusted to me.

At this point the candidate became aware of the magical procedures that he would learn in the Second Order and, psychologically most significant, that his task was to 'attain to be more than human'.

Released from the Cross of Suffering, the candidate heard an account of the life and works of the mythical Christian Rosenkreuz. This was recited by the Second and Third Adepti. At this stage the First Point ended and the candidate was escorted from the room.

All this time the Chief Adept had remained unseen and unheard in the Vault. In the candidate's absence the following preparations were made: 'Chief Adept lies in Pastos [coffin] on his back to represent C.R.C. He is clothed in full Regalia; on his breast is the complete symbol of the Rosy Cross suspended from the double Phoenix Collar. His arms are crossed on breast, and he holds Crook and Scourge; between them lies the book 'T'. Lid of Pastos is closed and the Circular Altar stands over it. Other Adepti outside Tomb as before. On the Altar are replaced Rose Cross, Cup of Wine, Chain and Dagger.'

The candidate enters the Temple again and is placed before the closed door of the Vault. He is shown the door and the inscription

POST CXX ANNOS PATEBO

IX

However, there is no allusion to the roman numerals 'IX' in the *Fama*. The inscription was explained as being equivalent to Post Annos Lux Crucis Patebo—'At the end of 120 years, I, the Light of the Cross, will disclose myself. For the letters forming LUX are made from the dismembered and conjoined angles of the Cross; and 120 is the product of the numbers from 1 to 5, multiplied in regular progression, which number five is symbolised in the Cross with four extremities and one centre point.' Needless to say, none of this arcane information will be found in the *Fama Fraternitatis*.

Now the door of the Vault was opened and the Second and Third Adepts took the candidate inside. The Chief Adept was not visible since the lid of the Pastos was still closed and in any case the coffin itself was underneath the circular altar. In due course the Second and Third Adepts move the altar aside, reveal the upper part of the Pastos and open the lid. The candidate, no doubt to his great surprise, beholds the head of the Chief Adept, who is lying with his eyes closed.

Next, without moving or opening his eyes, the Chief Adept utters a brief discourse. The Third Adept follows with some information about three of the earliest 'Highest Chiefs' of the Rosicrucian Order, namely 'Frater Hugo Alverda, the Phrisian [who died] in the 576th year of his age; Frater Franciscus de Bry, the Gaul, in the 495th year of his age; [and] Frater Elman Zata, the Arab, in the 463rd year of his age'. (None of them is mentioned in the *Fama*.) The candidate is again led out of the room and 'the Tomb is then re-opened and the Chief Adept released'.

In the course of the Third Point the candidate is once more admitted to the Tomb and this time discovers the Chief and Second and Third Adepts inside; the Chief Adept standing and the two others seated. The intricate painted symbolism is explained in great detail and the ceremony then comes to an end.

Only a small part of the Second Order curriculum was ready in 1892. Judging by one or two brief entries in the Diaries, I have the impression that people were not beginning to take various parts of the series of eight examinations for the senior $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ grade of Theoricus Adeptus Minor until the autumn of 1893. For instance, on 15 October 1893 Dr Berridge scribbled in the Diary: 'Resurgam copied rules for Th.A.M. Exam. He is ready for exam in D[i.e. Divination]—not next Thursday.' If Berridge, of all people, only had the rules to copy at that date it means that they had only recently been formulated. Again, since he was an enthusiastic astrologer, he may well have taken 'D' first, but would at the same time have been examined for his knowledge of Geomancy and the Tarot.

When F. L. Gardner became a member of the R.R. et A.C. in 1895 he was given a lengthy document called Ritual 'A' to copy. This contained details of the 'General Orders, Mode of Progress, Series of Examinations, List of Rituals, List of Flying Rolls'. Most of the material will be found in Dr Regardie's *The Golden Dawn*.

The General Orders contained purely administrative details, e.g. 'Whenever one Adept writes to another $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ on Second Order

matters he must stamp the envelope in a peculiar manner; viz. in the usual corner, but with the stamp turned round so that the face looks upwards like C.R. in the Pastos.' Thus the recipient would immediately know that the envelope contained a communication on Second Order matters.

There are many allusions in the 1892-3 Diaries to newly-initiated members consecrating their Rose Cross Lamens, Lotus Wands, Magical Swords and four Elemental Weapons, i.e. 'the Wand for Fire, the Cup for Water, the Dagger for Air, and the Pentacle for Earth'. The procedure for making and consecrating the Lotus Wand, as described below, is not only typical of what was required for the other objects, but throws light on what Mathers taught his apprentice magicians.

The following is based upon Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, ii, 37-45.

The Lotus Wand was intended 'for general use in magical working' and was carried by Z.A.M.'s at all Second Order meetings at which they were entitled to be present. Every Zelator Adeptus Minor was expected to make his own Lotus Wand without assistance and to 'consecrate it by himself alone'.

It was not to be touched or handled by any other person 'and kept wrapped in white silk or linen, free from external influences other than his [i.e. the owner's] own on the human plane'.

The upper end of the Wand, which was to be between 24 in. and 40 in. long, was painted white, the lower end black, and between them successively 'the twelve colours referring to the zodiacal signs in the positive or masculine scale of colour'. The twelve colours plus black and white could be achieved by painting them or the use of coloured papers.

The Adept was also expected to make the Lotus Flower emblem which was fixed to the white end of the Wand by a screw or bolt. The flower, which could be made of sheet metal or stiff cardboard, consisted of three whorls totalling 26 petals and was painted according to a prescribed multi-colour scheme. Instructions were given describing how the Wand was to be held, e.g. 'use the white end in invocation and the black end to banish'. Again, 'the Wand is never to be inverted, so that when very material forces are concerned, the black end may be the most suitable for invocation, but with the greatest caution'. The Lotus Flower was not to be touched while working, 'but in Sephirotic and Spiritual Things the Flower is to be inclined

towards the forehead; and to rise in the planes [i.e. for astral vision], the orange-coloured centre is to be fully directed to the forehead'.

The Adept consecrated his Wand according to a prescribed ceremony in a private room in his own home.¹ 'Provide . . . a white triangle, red cross of six squares. Incense, a rose, water in a vase, Lamp or vessel of Fire, Salt on a platter, and an astrological figure of the heavens for the true time of consecration. Have ready also the Ritual of the Pentagram, the new Wand, white silk or linen wrapper, table with black cover for altar.'

The room was first to be purified with fire and water. 'Take the Wand again, by the white portion. Circumambulate the room three times and, at the end, repeat the adoration of the Lord of the Universe, as in the $0^\circ = 0^\circ$ Ritual, saluting at each adoration with the Neophyte Sign, and at 'Darkness' giving the 'Sign of Silence'.

This was followed by the 'performance of the Supreme Invoking Ritual of the Pentagram at the four Quarters of the Room, tracing the proper Pentagram at each quarter and pronouncing the appropriate Angelic and Divine Names, taking care to give the Grade Sign appropriate to the Element,' i.e. Fire, Earth, Air and Water.

Needless to say, the Adept never learned all this by heart but carefully and no doubt slowly followed instructions which he had previously copied from the appropriate manuscript. Again, once an Adeptus Minor had consecrated the seven objects in question, he or she might not necessarily perform any other magical ceremonies. Indeed, my own view is that for most of them 'practical Magic' came to an end at this stage.

Today Magicians can spare themselves the trouble of having to make their Swords, Wands and other implements since Mr George Alexander, of 16 Messina Avenue, London, N.W.6, manufactures everything that a thaumaturgist could possibly require.

¹ The 1892-3 diaries include about a dozen instances of the consecration ceremony being performed at the Second Order's premises.

The Second Order Diaries

1892-3

Two diaries contain much scattered material that throws light upon a variety of matters connected with the Second Order during the years 1892-3. All members who visited the Second Order's rooms, first at Thavies Inn and then at Clipstone Street, wrote their names in the diary and briefly stated their business there, although the latter information was often omitted. The material is too extensive to reprint and in any case much of it is trivial. However, a close scrutiny of the diaries reveals much that would otherwise not be known.

*

Mathers's departure for Paris

According to Mrs Mathers's Preface to the fourth (1926) edition of *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, he was 'told by his occult teachers to transfer his centre to Paris', but the reason for his move was more commonplace.

It can be inferred from Annie Horniman's memorandum of 14 July 1898 that Mathers lost his job at the Horniman Museum in 1891. He and his wife had to move from Stent Lodge, Forest Hill.

They were living at Percy Street and Mrs. Mathers asked me for a 'loan' immediately. I had only got about £8 (under £10 I know) in gold . . . Then I had some money to spare and proposed that she should go to Paris, not as an occultist but as a fellow [art] student of *great* promise. During 1891 I think they must have still lived in England—I find two cheques, one for £50, March 5th, 1891, and one of June 3rd, 1891, for £40 payable to a friend who gave me others instead as I wished to keep the matter very secret.

At this point her memorandum is difficult to follow, but the sequence of events can be established by referring to her summary

of the thirty-four payments she made to Mathers and his wife between 5 March 1891 and 14 July 1896.

Early in 1892, then, Annie Horniman offered to give Mina Mathers money so that she could go to Paris and paint there. She also invited Mina to join her at Venice for a holiday. On 28 January 1892 she gave her twenty-five pounds for her expenses in Paris, and on 6 March a further twenty pounds for clothes and the fare to Venice.

Mina did not leave London until Sunday 3 April, went to Venice and was back in London by 10 May. It must have been at this time that Mathers decided that he, too, would go to Paris. They both left London on 20 May. The next four remittances amounted to a total of fifty-nine pounds and were made between 18 May and 23 June 1892. The summary of payments includes the following remark: 'This was for *her*, but he came and joined her in Paris.'

Furthermore, Mathers's action was contrary to what Annie Horniman intended. The relevant passage from her memorandum follows:

She went to Paris and studied there; he joined her there . . . and she honestly told me, prevented [her] from giving the best of herself to her work . . . I remember that she came from London and returned there from Venice direct. They did not remain long in London but in about June [actually May] went to live in Paris. I find various sums [given] from May to June of that year; she was still painting in a studio, but at last told me it was no good at all. I was sorry as she promised to become a successful painter.

Two diary entries record their departure from London:

Fri. 20 May 1892. 'Vestigia's and S.R.M.D.'s address for 1 week will be 79 rue Miromesnil, Paris.'

Sat. 21 May. 'S.R.M.D. called as he was going to Paris in the evening and would be away for some time. Wrote to Bullock telling him to fix his own time for meeting and enclosed Pledge form of Praeger's. Corrected exam papers [for 5° = 6° grade] of Yeats, Theobald, Hamilton and Dum Spiro Spero. All passed. Left on nail rt. hand side of mantel G.D. keys, key of door and ditto of outer door of Thavies Inn.'¹

¹ William Praeger was a friend of W. B. Yeats. The latter was not yet a member of the Second Order. Dr Robert Theobald has already been mentioned on p. 51. Mrs Lina Bowatt Hamilton ('Fidelis'), of 8 Cavendish Square, London, W., passed her first 5° = 6° examination on 11 March 1892. 'Dum Spiro Spero' was Mrs Henrietta Paget, Florence Farr's sister.



The Vault at Thavies Inn

The first Vault—a few years later the Amen-Ra initiates built one at Edinburgh—was at Thavies Inn, off Holborn Circus, probably in a room rented from Westcott's Sanitary Wood Wool Company, which had moved there from nearby Hatton Garden. A joiner was no doubt employed to make the seven walls, floor and ceiling, also the circular altar and the coffin. The carpentry would have been simple enough but the elaborate painting and decorative work must have occupied Mathers and his wife for weeks on end.

Annie Horniman contributed to the expenses and early in 1900 stated that

While Mr and Mrs Mathers were painting certain diagrams which form part of the property [i.e. the Vault] now in dispute, I gave Mrs Mathers the sum of £2 to purchase the actual oil paint required. Further I gave them a sum £7 or £8 in gold, during the progress of the work, for their personal expenses . . . to my knowledge other sums were paid for like purposes by two other persons who are no longer members of the Society.

Among the documents that I received from my anonymous benefactor in December 1971 there was a notebook in which A. E. Waite recorded some notes of a conversation with Annie Horniman on 12 March 1910. He wrote: 'Fortiter [Annie Horniman] took the 5 = 6 Ceremony at Thavies Inn.' The parchment roll of Second Order members from the same source—it is described in Appendix IV—indicates that this was on 7 December 1891. Waite continued: 'The roof was not on the Vault and the painting on the Crook and Scourge was wet. Fortiter was the first candidate to take it, preceding Sapia [Florence Farr], because she was going abroad.' Hence Mathers's new 5° = 6° ritual was ready by the end of 1891.

The Second Order's vellum roll indicates that there were already twenty honorary 5° = 6°s who were senior to Annie Horniman. These included Mrs Mathers, the Rev. and Mrs Ayton, T. H. Patinson (Horus Temple), Dr Berridge, Miss Theresa O'Connell and Florence Farr. In some cases, which will be mentioned later, the individuals named above experienced the 5° = 6° ceremony after 5 March 1892. There is no record of any Second Order initiations between Annie Horniman's on 7 December 1891 and the latter date. According to A. E. Waite's memorandum of his talk with Annie Horniman in 1910,

Mathers, Mrs Mathers and Westcott 'took the Obligation from each other', which suggests that each of them recited the Oath in the presence of the other two.

The first contemporary reference to a ceremony connected with the Vault is the diary entry for 5 March 1892: 'S.A. [Westcott], S.R.M.D. [Mathers], V.N.R. [Mrs Mathers] and V.V.M. [Pattison] at Vault—latter obligated.' The next day we have: '3 p.m. Vault for Sub Rosa.' He was Thomas Wilson, another Horus member, who joined the Order as early as May 1888.

Next, for Wednesday 9 March 1892 there is the entry: '4 p.m. Vault Ceremony. Present DDCF [Mathers] as Chief Adept, VNR [Mrs Mathers] as 2nd Adept, SSDD [Florence Farr] as 3rd Adept. Resurgam [Dr Berridge] as Int[roducing] Ad[ept]. N.O.M. [Westcott]. Ciall [Miss Theresa O'Connell] obligated.'

Then for some reason there was a halt until July when there were three initiations within a fortnight.

Sun. 3 July. Percy Bullock ('Levavi Oculos'), who had been made a nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ on 14 April.

Tues. 12 July. Mrs Helen Rand ('Vigilate' $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$ March 1891), later a prominent member of the Second Order and its astrological expert. Annie Horniman was there and, according to the entry in her own handwriting, made a talisman.

Sun. 17 July. Oswald Murray ('In Utrumque Paratus', $0^{\circ} = 0^{\circ}$ March 1891). He had changed his motto to 'Quaestor Lucis' by February 1893, and resigned from the Order in February 1894.

On 18 March 1892 Westcott wrote in the diary: 'Recd. letter from Wood Wool Co. re other room.' Hence more accommodation was needed. Either the room was not available or the premises were in any case too small because in August the Second Order moved to Clipstone Street.



The Vault at Clipstone Street

Clipstone Street was a dingy little thoroughfare running east from the middle of Great Portland Street. In a letter to Dr R. W. Felkin (23 May 1902) J. W. Brodie-Innes recalled that he had been 'very happy at Clipstone Street, but certainly it was dirty, noisy, smelly and immoral and many objected to it'.

The diary entry in Westcott's handwriting for Wednesday 10 August 1892 reads: 'S.A. here [i.e. at Thavies Inn] 11-12. 4.30-5 in pastos. Decided on Clipstone Street.' The inference is that he lay in Christian Rosenkreuz's symbolical coffin and meditated there before making a decision.

The landlord of the premises at 24-25 Clipstone Street was a Mr George Atkinson, who had a sign-writing business. He agreed to lease the accommodation on Friday 12 August and the tenancy, which was probably in Westcott's name, began on the following Monday. The rent may have been 10s. weekly for two rooms. The R.R. et A.C.'s neighbours included a hairdresser, a dairyman, a confectioner, two sculptors, cabinet-makers, french polishers, a piano tuner and the offices of the German Waiters' Society.

During the week commencing Sunday 14 August 1892 Percy Bullock was busy organising the move from Thavies Inn. The Vault had to be dismantled and re-erected. On Friday 26 August Westcott was at Clipstone Street between 4 and 5 p.m. and 'put up lamp', probably in the Vault.

Mathers and his wife—henceforth I shall call her Vestigia—were back in London on 6 September and remained in England until 20 October. Annie Horniman had given them a hundred pounds on 1 September and parted with a further twenty on 3 October, so they were not without money although there were no doubt debts in Paris. They both visited the Clipstone Street rooms on 6 September and Mathers wrote in the diary: 'S.R.M.D. and V.N.R. called at 5.15 and examined new quarters, which are most admirably fitted for their purpose and beautifully arranged.'

This must have been an 'official visit', e.g. to attend the traditional Equinox ceremony; for the Chief to preside at the ceremonial consecration of the Vault, for which he had written a special ritual; and to be present at four further $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ Admissions. The Consecration ceremony on 20 September was followed by the Admission of the Rev. Ayton, the Order's most venerable member. It is significant that his initiation, in particular, should have taken place on this auspicious occasion. He and his wife were among the first nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ s. She was allowed to be present at the ceremony. This is the only known instance of a nominal $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ being allowed to witness the proceedings.

During his first few days in London the G.H. Frater Deo Duce Comite Ferro, $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$, attended to a number of quite humdrum tasks:

Wed. 7 Sept. 'S.R.M.D. called 12.10. Took robes (white) to laundress at 167 Cleveland Street to be done Friday night at 8. Paid her 1/3 each = 3/9. Vestigia called later.'

Thurs. 8 Sept. 'S.R.M.D. called in morning. Corrected his address list from Second Order ditto and made up same as regards Grades [in the Outer Order] as far as possible from Temple Reports. Entered fresh pledge forms for approval from Horus. Got a quart of petrol and oil can = 9d. Arranged Books of Library. Vestigia came later.'

Fri. 9 Sept. 'S.R.M.D. called. Went to 63 Queen Victoria Street about electric lamp [probably for the Vault]. Bought soap = 2d. Vestigia and S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] in afternoon.'

Wed. 14 Sept. 'S.A. and S.R.M.D. here in morning working at Vault.'

There are occasional references in the diary to Westcott or Bullock taking a battery away for charging and bringing it back to Clipstone Street. The inference is that the Vault was illuminated by electricity. In any case gas-lighting would have been hazardous, if not impossible.

Apart from Ayton's, there were four further initiations between 27 September and 11 October, namely those for Mrs Lina Hamilton ('Fidelis'), Mrs Florence Kennedy ('Volo'), Mrs Grace Murray ('In Excelsis') and Mrs Cecilia Macrae ('Macte Virtute'). By November she had changed her motto to 'Vincit Qui Se Vincit'. All of them had joined the G.D. in May-June 1891.

Mathers was at Clipstone Street on Wednesday 19 October and 'took his 5 = 6 Ritual, ditto Consecration, ditto 0 = 0 Ritual, 4 Knowledge lectures copy [Outer Order material], his Address book and Aesch. Metz, also 3 pledge forms for judgment.' After a final meeting with Westcott he and Vestigia returned to Paris the following day. Before they left there must have been a talk with Annie Horniman about their financial position.

Since outsiders could not be allowed to see the Vault and its contents, the 'charring' at Thavies Inn and Clipstone Street was done by various lady members. A few diary entries refer to this. Among those who helped were Theresa O'Connell, Mrs Macrae, Mrs Rand, Mrs Hamilton and Annie Horniman. On one occasion Florence Farr 'cleaned up a little'. The phrase, which was her own, seems to reflect her somewhat indolent personality.

During 1892 there were eleven ceremonial admissions to the

Second Order, and in 1893 eighteen, i.e. an average of one every three weeks.

The Portal grade is mentioned for the first time in the diaries in connection with the admission of Miss Grace Murray ('In Excelsis'), who was the last of the 1892 batch of initiates (11 October). Her Portal ceremony took place three days earlier. With one exception all who became full 5° = 6°s in 1893 went through the Portal grade first. The later rule that nine months must pass between admittance to the Portal and the 5° = 6° initiation ceremony was not yet in force since everyone proceeded to the 5° = 6° grade a few days or at the most a week or two later. Details of the 1893 initiations, which included that of W. B. Yeats, follow:

12 Jan. Sidney Coryn ('Veritas Praevaleat', 0° = 0° September 1891).

15 Jan. F. J. Johnson ('Ora Et Labore', 0° = 0° October 1889) who visited Clipstone Street thirteen times during 1893, almost invariably to collect or return manuscripts.

Fri. 20 Jan. 'Portal for Demon est Deus and Obligation and 1st Point Adept. S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] left at 7 o'clock.'

Sat. 21 Jan. 'Adept Assembly. Second and Third Points for Demon.'

The circumstances attending the initiation of W. B. Yeats ('Demon Est Deus Inversus', often abbreviated D.E.D.I.) were non-standard. There is no record of any other person taking the Portal Ceremony and then the first part only of the 5° = 6° ceremony, with the initiation being completed on the following day.

Thurs. 26 Jan. John W. Brettle ('Luci', 0° = 0° April 1888), who lived at Smethwick.

Sat. 25 Feb. Dr B. E. J. Edwards ('Deus Lux Solis', 0° = 0° Oct. 1888), a Horus member who also joined the Order at a very early date.

Wed. 22 March. Mrs Anne Carden ('Amore', 0° = 0° Mar. 1891), the wife of:

Sat. 25 March. Alexander James Carden ('Fide', 0° = 0° Mar. 1891), of 32 Leinster Square, Bayswater. He was Sub-Cancellarius of Isis-Urania Temple in 1893-4. He was at Clipstone Street on

c. 68 occasions between 25 March and 30 December 1893, probably to attend to Outer Order business. He died in July 1897.

Fri. 31 Mar. Mrs C. M. (Jane Anna) Davies ('Excelsior', o° = o° Sept. 1891). A friend of the Carden family.

Thurs. 6 Apr. J. W. Brodie-Innes ('Sub Spe', o° = o° Aug. 1890). Nominal 5° = 6° in Jan. 1893 and took Portal grade on 7 Feb. 1893. Westcott sent him ten Pledge forms on 26 Sept. 1893, probably for the first members of the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh. He was a well-known lawyer.

Sat. 22 Apr. Dr John Todhunter ('Aktis Heliou', o° = o° Feb. 1892).

Tues. 30 May. Colonel James Webber Smith ('Non Sine Numine', o° = o° Dec. 1891). Yeats may have been present at his Admission since he attended a Council of Adepts at 3 p.m. the same day. Webber Smith had asked for his Portal and Admission to be expedited as he was returning to Clonmel, County Tipperary, where his regiment was stationed.

Tues. 20 June. Pamela Carden ('Shemeber', o° = o° Mar. 1892), daughter of A. J. Carden, who was later to marry Percy Bullock.

Thurs. 29 June. Mrs Maria Jane Burnley Scott ('Sub Silentio', o° = o° Oct. 1891).

Fri. 30 June. Miss Minnie Constance Langridge ('Che Sara Sara', o° = o° Horus, Sept. 1891).

Tues. 4 July. Francis Wright ('Mens Conscia Recte', o° = o° Apr. 1892). Miller and Corn Merchant at Maidstone. A member of the Soc. Ros. since Apr. 1892 and a friend of Westcott's.

Thurs. 27 July. Anna Blackwell ('Essi Quam Videri', o° = o° Jan. 1892).

Tues. 12 Dec. J. K. Gardner ('Valet Anchora Virtus', o° = o° Horus, July 1891).

Tues. 19 Sept. William Williams ('Nurho Demanhar Leculnosh', o° = o° Horus, Oct. 1888).

Tues. 26 Sept. John Hill ('Ut Prosim', o° = o° Horus, July 1891).

There were no further 5° = 6° Admissions, perhaps as a matter of policy, until March 1894. Thus between 5 March 1892 and 26 September 1893 the new and elaborate Vault ceremony appears to have been performed thirty times. If we add the names of Westcott,

Mathers, Mrs Mathers, Dr Berridge, Annie Horniman and Florence Farr there were thirty-six full members of the Second Order by the autumn of 1893.

*

Consecrations

A few of the newly-initiated 5° = 6°s made and consecrated their Magical Instruments at Clipstone Street, e.g. Percy Bullock, Helen Rand, Lina Hamilton, Mrs Kennedy, Mrs Macrae, Mrs Carden, Pamela Carden (record for Lotus Wand only) and Col. Webber Smith who consecrated the lot on 7 October 1893.

Dr Berridge began work on his instruments on 16 September 1892 but did not complete them until Sunday 5 March 1893, when he 'consecrated Elemental Weapons'. A few of his Diary entries follow:

Sun. 11 Dec. 1892. 'Resurgam worked at Rose Cross, would have finished it, but had no paints.'

Thurs. 15 Dec. 'Resurgam brought six pots of enamel paints. Match box empty.'

Tues. 5 Jan. 1893. 'Resurgam called to see if his sword was repaired.'

Wed. 18 Jan. 'Will L.O. [Percy Bullock] please tell the blacksmith that he has not straightened the handle of sword as ordered? More matches wanted.' (The sword was at last ready for consecration on 14 February.)

Thurs. 23 Feb. 'Resurgam 4.30 worked at cup and brought tin of sapphire-blue paint. (Many of the tins in the next room are empty and should be thrown away).'

'Invocating in the Vault'

The diaries contain entries such as:

Wed. 30 Nov. 1892. 'L.O. [Percy Bullock] invoking 8-9 p.m.'

Sun. 29 Jan. 1893. 'S.A., S.S.D.D., L.O. to 4.' (Westcott, Florence Farr and Percy Bullock were invoking the 'spirit' or 'angel' of the planet Jupiter.)

Thurs. 9 Mar. 'L.O., Fidelis [Mrs. Hamilton] and S.S.D.D. invoking in Vault.'

Mon. 21 Aug. '6.30 to 6.45 invoked. S.A.,' i.e. Westcott.



Adept Assemblies and Councils

During 1892 there were seven Adept Assemblies and one Adept Council; in 1893 eight Assemblies and four Council meetings. Westcott lectured at the Assemblies to quite small audiences. For example, on Tuesday 25 July 1893 the meeting was held at 3 p.m., which would have prevented most members who worked for a living from attending. Florence Farr, Mrs Macrae, Dr Berridge, the three Cardens and Minnie Langridge were present.

The most important Adept Assembly was the annual one held early in June, as near as possible to the Church's Feast of Corpus Christi. The first Annual Assembly was on 1 June 1893, when fourteen Adepts were there. It is uncertain whether Mathers's new 'Consecration Ceremony of the Vault of the Adepts' was ready at this time. It was to be used for any new Vault and 'on each day of Corpus Christi'.

This ritual had one special feature. The Chief Adept, clothed in a black robe of mourning and with the 'chain of humility' round his neck, was bound to the Cross of Suffering and pledged himself 'for the due performance and fulfilment of the respective clauses of the Oath taken by each member on the Cross of Suffering at his admission to the Grade of Adeptus Minor'.

W. B. Yeats observed in his privately-printed pamphlet *Is the Order of the R.R. et A.C. to remain a Magical Order?*, 1900, that 'the obligation is indeed necessary, for by it the stream of the lightning is awakened in the Order, and the Adepts of the Third Order and of the Higher Degrees of the Second Order summoned to our help' (p. 10). Hence Yeats clearly believed in the invisible Chiefs of the Third Order.

An anonymous member of the R.R. et A.C. wrote the following in the margin of his copy of Yeats's pamphlet: 'Mathers found the consequences of taking it so unpleasant that he tried to foist it on to S.A. [Westcott], who did it for one year and said he never would again. Peck did it with no very marvellous result in Edinburgh.'¹

The Council of Adepts met to discuss matters such as the Horus Temple at Bradford (7 March 1893 when Westcott, Bullock, Florence Farr and Oswald Murray were present), Edinburgh Temple fees (20 May 1893), and for an unspecified purpose on 30 May 1893 when

¹ The annotation is in the Huntingdon Library copy. William Peck was City Astronomer at Edinburgh and at one time during the late 1890s Chief of the Amen-Ra Temple.

Westcott, Florence Farr, Mrs Hamilton, Annie Horniman and W. B. Yeats deliberated.



Attendances at Thavies Inn and Clipstone Street

Before 1892 Westcott's Sanitary Wood Wool Company's office merely served as a 'cover' address for his G.D. correspondence, e.g. applications for membership. Those already initiated wrote to him at his home at 396 Camden Road.

In January 1892 he called at Thavies Inn at about weekly intervals. In February he was there on only three occasions, or perhaps he did not bother to record his visits in the diary. There is no evidence that anyone else was there during those two months, although it is probable that Mathers and Vestigia were busy working on the Vault. However, between March and the middle of August 1892 the 'traffic' increased. There were six 'Vault Admissions' to the Second Order and every admission meant an additional person who was entitled to know the address and enter the rooms for one purpose or another, e.g. to fetch or return Second Order MSS.

Westcott may have transferred all his G.D. papers to Thavies Inn because between 1 March and 15 August he was there forty times to deal with correspondence and other matters. During the same period Annie Horniman was there fourteen and Florence Farr nine times. Mathers paid eleven visits between 1 March and 21 May 1892, when he finally left for Paris.

A rough check of all the diary entries for 1892-3 indicates a total of 439 visits from Second Order members, including 144 for Westcott, in 1892, and rather more than a thousand, including 257 for Westcott, in 1893. Furthermore, these totals may well be on the low side. Details of other individual visits follow: Dr Berridge (1892/22; 1893/80), Annie Horniman (1892/17; 1893/28), Florence Farr (1892/23; 1893/70), Percy Bullock (1892, July-Dec./45; 1893/153).

Some of the lady members obviously enjoyed the Clipstone Street premises. There cannot have been facilities for refreshments or Florence Farr would not have occasionally recorded that she had 'gone out to tea'. Westcott must have taken steps to limit their visits, because on 14 December 1892 Florence Farr wrote in the diary with her blunt pencil—she seldom used any other writing instrument—'S.S.D.D. called at 1.30. What's the meaning of the new rule about Lady Students?', and two days later Mrs Hamilton wrote: 'Fidelis

11.30 to bring back books and leave things for inspection.¹ She does not understand the new order which wd. prevent her being able to come [very?] often.' Whatever Westcott intended, the 'Lady Students' continued to come as usual.

The frequency of Dr Berridge's and Percy Bullock's attendances can be explained by the probability that they were already respectively Sub-Imperator and Cancellarius of Isis-Urania Temple.²

Percy Bullock, however, did more than attend to Outer Order business with Florence Farr and Dr Berridge, and at the same time help Westcott, who was Chief Adept in Anglia and Registrar of the Second Order. Between 15 March and 3 July 1893 there are eight diary references to his 'working at Tarot scheme' or 'tarotting' at Clipstone Street, e.g. on 18 March from 10.30 p.m. to 2.10 a.m. the following morning.

W. B. Yeats was first at Clipstone Street when he was initiated as a 5° = 6° on 20-21 January 1893. His next visit was on 30 May when he attended a Council of Adepts. Between 16 June and 14 September he was there twenty-nine times, sometimes alone but often with others. Precisely what he was doing is not clear, but he may have been making and consecrating his instruments. His illegible, rather 'vague' handwriting is immediately recognisable in the 1893 diary. A transcript of all the Yeats entries will be found in Appendix III.

The possibility of yet another move must have been discussed during the autumn of 1893 because on 23 October Westcott noted that he and 'S.S.D.D., V.Q.S.V. and Volo', i.e. Florence Farr, Mrs Macrae and Mrs Kennedy, had visited Albert Street, which was not far from his home at 396 Camden Road. The accommodation there cannot have met with their approval. He wrote on 4 November 'S.A. 11.0 [a.m.]. Has found another very suitable house.'

However, no move was made until August 1894 when a short lease at 62 Oakley Square, again not far from Camden Road, was

¹ Mrs Hamilton had been made a 5° = 6° on 27 September 1892 and at this time was busy making and consecrating her instruments. One or other was left at the rooms for Westcott to inspect. She was at Clipstone Street on at least twenty-one occasions during 1893.

² The earliest known list of Isis-Urania officers for this period is a printed G.D. summons received by F. L. Gardner for 0° = 0° and 3° = 8° ceremonies at Mark Masons' Hall on 16 June 1894: *Imperator*, Mathers; *Praemonstratrix*, Florence Farr; *Cancellarius*, Percy Bullock; *Sub-Imperator*, Dr Berridge (but since Mathers was in Paris he would have acted as Imperator); *Sub-Praemonstratrix*, Annie Horniman; *Sub-Cancellarius*, A. J. Carden. A month later Dr Henry Pullen Burry became Sub-Cancellarius in place of Carden. By November 1896 Burry was Cancellarius and Percy Bullock had become Sub-Imperator, with his wife Pamela (*née* Carden) as Sub-Cancellaria.

acquired. Percy Bullock's name appears at that address in the 1899 *Post Office Directory* and it is likely that he and Pamela Carden ('Shemeber') were now married.

A theatrical venture in which four members of the Order were involved belongs to this period. In the spring of 1894 Annie Horniman anonymously provided the money that enabled Florence Farr to lease the Avenue Theatre, where she staged Yeats's one-act play *The Land of Heart's Desire* as a curtain-raiser for Dr John Todhunter's *The Comedy of Sighs*. The latter was soon withdrawn and replaced by G. B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man*.



Magical Operations

There are very few records of magical operations performed by the Adepts of the R.R. et A.C. For most, their thaumaturgical experiences came to an end once they had consecrated their instruments. Others, who studied for the senior Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade, learned the elements of Ceremonial Magic, e.g. the consecration of talismans and the techniques of evocation. (See Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, iii, 152-248.) It is unlikely that members repeatedly performed these and similar ceremonies, which were for individual rather than group working. Apart from the question of nervous strain, too many preparations were necessary. One cannot decide to 'do' some Ceremonial Magic with the same casualness with which one might propose, for example, a game of tennis or any other commonplace activity.

Annie Horniman was in Italy during the winter months of 1892-3 and made a brief account of a Magical Operation which involved the preparation of a talisman. It was written at Rome on 26 December 1892 and is of interest because it demonstrates the kind of theurgy she had been learning from Mathers. Her friend Theresa O'Connell ('Ciall'), whose 5° = 6° initiation had taken place on 9 March, had sent her a note written on a small scrap of paper:

Can you do anything for poor little Charlie Sewell? He has suddenly developed epileptic fits which attack him in his sleep always and they may get worse and worse. It is very bad both for the poor boy and his mother. They can't do him any good at the hospital because of course the case is one of obsession. I have myself heard him bark like a dog. And to think that I cannot help him although I might have been able to try this. Do try what you can do.

On the other side of Ciall's small piece of paper Annie Horniman described her magical procedure in her small and legible handwriting. What she did, in effect, was to 'scry in the astral plane' and the whole

operation was entirely subjective. Hence what follows is her description of a 'vision'.

Went through the golden Hexagram and red Cross to seated white figure. Showed the child, he had a whirling black and blue ball following him, attached to his head by a string or tube. I was told [i.e. by the seated white figure] to make my talisman on his breast, then to do the lesser banishing Pentagram round him and the ban[ishment] of Earth [alchemical sign] over his head. The ball which was alive seemed to die and the string withered. His home atmosphere was shewn me, as full of black imps, like flies. Then I was told to make him hold my sword which he could scarcely do, so I guided his hand and made this before him, the lower *He* [Hebrew letter] resting on the [Alchemical sign for Earth], all surrounded by a circle. Then I was told to go to him and touch his forehead and tell him to pray when he felt ill. I then asked the Figure his name, he said (or rather showed me the letters) he was under [Hebrew letters] and I seemed to get his own name as Sharshpan.

These notes were sent to Mathers, who exhibited his own obscure learning when he replied. His observations are not quoted in full:

Black and blue ball = Akasa Vayu or Vayu Akasa, dangerous to health. String and ball is a very usual thing in obsessions. Not wise to put talisman *on* his breast. If put in front of him as a shield all right. The black imp, flies etc. (Baal-Zebule) come from O'Connell current. Quite right to guide his hand; of course he could not hold your sword. Sharshem is a Chaldaic masc. plural; and its meaning implies the rulers or commencers of destruction. It therefore represents a band or host; and is the name of the forces in Ciall's atmosphere, forces with which you should not hold converse.

Allan Bennett, who was Frater Iehi Aour in the Golden Dawn, seldom remembered to date his letters, but the following letter to his friend F. L. Gardner was written shortly before 13 May 1896.

There are certain more ingredients of the Hell-broth necessary to give our brother [followed by word in Hebrew letters] physical pabulum whereon to act, which I am unable to get myself: the chief is a snake *pickled in spirit*. I believe you have some snakes in spirit; if you can spare one for this work it will more than double our chances of getting him materialised.

Also I left out of my list: (I) *Gum Ammoniacum* two ouzs, and (II) *Coriander seed* two ouzs. Both of these are cheap. About $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of *Spermaceti* will be reqd. as I find I shall have to make a great Magic Candle to give light to read by: and this has to be compounded in certain ways with the fat of a snake. Also we will need about a pint of olive oil.

If you could bring that snake and some of the other ingredients to Headquarters Friday afternoon when the Council is to be held, I will be there to receive them. You know that you must not *talk* to anyone save us three of the work we are about to do. It would greatly weaken us.

Another letter followed, perhaps a few days later.

I have got all the ingredients safely. I write to tell you that the operation will *not* take place tomorrow; and probably not for two or three weeks.

S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] [Charles] Rosher and myself being all suddenly afflicted with grim and horrible diseases.

We will probably meet tomorrow at the College when we will arrange when we *are* to do these things.

The meaning of these letters became clear to me when I discovered Allan Bennett's 'Ritual for the Evocation unto Visible Appearance of the Great Spirit Taphthartharath', i.e. of Mercury, in *The Equinox* (I, iii, 1910, pp. 170-90). He was twenty-three years old when he wrote this extraordinary document.

The ritual was meant to be 'performed on the day and in the hour of Mercury: the Evocation itself commencing in the magical hour of Tfrac, under the dominion of the Great Angel of Mercury'. This hour is supposed to have occurred on Wednesday 13 May 1896 between 8.32 p.m. and 9.16 p.m., when Mercury was in 17° Gemini on the cusp of the seventh house. It seems likely the ritual was performed then because a holograph annotation by Aleister Crowley in a copy of *The Equinox* identifies the participants as Florence Farr, Allan Bennett, Charles Rosher and F. L. Gardner.

The ritual is far too long for inclusion here, but I offer some of the preliminary matter and a few brief quotations.

The duties of the Magus of Art [Florence Farr] will be to perform the actual processes of the Invocations: to rule the Assistants and command them all.

The Assistant Magus of Art [Allan Bennett] shall act as

Kerux in the circumambulations; he shall preside over the Brewing of the Hell-broth in the midst of the Circle; he shall repeat such Invocations as may be necessary at the command of the Magus of Art: and he shall prepare beforehand the place of working.

The Magus of Fire [Charles Rosher] shall preside over all magical lights, fires, candles, incense, etc: he shall perform the invoking and consecrating rituals at the command of the Magus, and he shall consecrate the Temple by Fire, and shall consecrate all Fire used in due form.

The Magus of Waters [F. L. Gardner] shall preside over all the fluids used in the operation; over the Water and the Wine, the Oil and the Milk: he shall perform all banishing rituals at the opening of the ceremony: he shall purify the Temple by Water; he shall consecrate all watery things used in due form.

OF THE ROBES AND INSIGNIA

The Mighty Magus of Art shall wear a white robe, yellow sash, red overmantle, indigo nemyss, upon her breast she shall bear a great Tablet whereon is the magic seal of Mercury; and over this the lamén bearing the signature of Taphthartharath, on its obverse the Lamén of a Hierophant. She shall wear a dagger in her sash, and a red rose on her heart: and in her left hand she shall carry the Ankh of Thoth, and in her right the Ibis Wand.

The Assistant Magus of Art shall wear a white robe, with a girdle of snake-skin; a black head-dress and a Lamén of the Spirit, on its obverse the Lamén of the Hieréus. And he shall bear in his right hand a sword; and in his left the Magical Candle; and a back chain about his neck.

The Magus of the Fires shall wear a white robe and a yellow sash; and the rose upon his breast; in his right hand is a sword and in his left a red lamp.

The Magus of the Waters shall wear a white robe and yellow sash and rose cross: he shall bear in his right hand a sword and in his left a cup of water.

After a lengthy preamble the Magus of Art at last invokes the spirit of Mercury.

O Thou mighty and powerful spirit Taphthartharath, I bind and conjure thee very potently, that Thou do appear in visible

form before us in the magical triangle without this Circle of Art. I demand that Thou shalt speedily come hither from Thy dark abodes and retreats, in the sphere of Kokab, and that Thou do presently appear before us in pleasing form, not seeking to terrify us by vain apparitions, for we are armed with words of double power, and are therefore without fear!

In the event that Taphthartharath refused to appear, there was a 'Stronger and More Potent Conjunction' for Florence Farr to declaim. It was assumed that the Spirit might be slow or obstinate because some pages later we find 'An Extremely Powerful Conjunction'. In the case of further disobedience Taphthartharath was roundly cursed:

I curse and blast Thee, O Thou Spirit Taphthartharath. I curse Thy life and blast Thy being. I consign Thee unto the lowest Hell of Abaddon.

By the whole power of the Order of the Rose of Ruby and the Cross of Gold—for that Thou hast failed at their behest, and hast mocked by Thy disobedience at their God-born knowledge—by that Order which riseth even unto the white throne of God Himself do I curse Thy life and blast Thy being; and consign Thee unto the lowermost Hell of Abaddon.

However, the Spirit appears and is forgiven: '... forasmuch as Thou art come, albeit tardily, do I revoke my magic curse, and free Thee from all its bond save only from those that bind Thee here!'

They had not summoned Taphthartharath with much trouble—indeed, there seem to have been moments when Florence Farr was literally shouting at him—merely in order to allow him to disappear again. The Magi wanted something!

O thou Great Potent Spirit Taphthartharath, I do command and very potently conjure thee by the Majesty of Thoth, the Great God, Lord of Amenta, King and Lord Eternal of the Magic of Light:

That Thou do teach us continually the Mysteries of the Art of Magic, declaring unto us now in what best manner may each of us progress towards the accomplishment of the Great Work. Teach us the Mysteries of all the Hidden Arts and Sciences which are under the Dominion of Mercury, and finally swear Thou by the Great Magic Sigil that I hold in my hand, that Thou wilt in future always speedily appear before us . . . to the end

that thou mayest be a perpetual link of communication between the Great God Thoth and ourselves.

And finally He was allowed to depart in peace . . . but 'come Thou hastily when we invoke and call Thee: Shalom! Shalom! Shalom!'

Aleister Crowley described how he had made a 'Flashing Tablet of The Eagle Kerub of Jupiter' in order to cure Lady Hall, the mother of Mrs Alice Simpson ('Perseverantia Et Cura Quies'), of a serious illness. This would have been in c. 1899–1900.

Extraordinary were its results. For having carefully celebrated the ritual he instructed Soror Q.F.D.R. to feed the talisman with incense, and water it with dew. This she neglected to do, the result being that when she placed the talisman on her sick mother, this venerable old lady was seized with a violent series of fits, and nearly died. Q.F.D.R., however, reconsecrated the talisman, the result being that Lady I— speedily recovered the whole of her former strength, and survived to the ripe old age of ninety-two.¹

The practical as opposed to the theoretical side of Ceremonial Magic being a complicated affair, many members of the R.R. et A.C. indulged instead in experiments in 'scrying on the astral plane'. This generally means, in effect, that 'visions' provided a substitute for 'the real thing'.

¹ *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, pp. 197–8. Crowley identified Lady Hall and Mrs Simpson in marginal notes. The initials of G.D. mottoes were disguised by using the next letter in the alphabet.

* * *

Uneasy Relationships 1893-6

I have mentioned that Annie Horniman gave Mathers £100 on 1 September and a further £20 on 3 October 1892. Earlier that year Vestigia had received £104 and on 20 December there was another payment of £20 to Mathers, making a total of £224 for 1892.

In her 1898 memorandum Annie Horniman referred to Mathers and Vestigia 'living in great poverty on the Boulevard St Michel' in September 1892. She continued:

I arranged with them both to give them £200 a year so that they should be able to study and work for the Order. Mr. Mathers that very day began the 'MacGregor' foolishness and hired a flat for £40 a year which seemed expensive as I could not afford to give them much.¹ Both of them assured me that in the future, perhaps in two years, they would earn enough money to keep themselves and that this arrangement was purely temporary.

In a summary of the twenty-six payments made to Mathers between 1 September 1892 and 14 July 1896 Annie Horniman mentioned that 'the move to a house (costing about £60 a year I believe) was taken without consulting me'. This new address would have been 87 Rue Mozart, in the Auteuil district. They were already there by the summer of 1895.

In 1892, then, apart from her long-standing friendship with Vestigia, Annie Horniman had a special relationship with the Greatly Honoured Chief. While he was in London that autumn she went as his plenipotentiary to discipline two unruly members of the Horus Temple at Bradford. There is an indirect reference to the trouble at Bradford in a short memorandum written by Westcott on 2 October 1892.

¹ This flat was at 1 Avenue Duquesne, not far from the Hôtel des Invalides. They were there by 1 January 1893.

* *

Non Omnis Moriar's Report to the College of Adepts re the Theosophical Society and Horus

He [Westcott] had seen Annie Besant and explained that a discordant note had been introduced into Horus Temple by means of remarks made by a Mrs. C[oooper] O[akley], a prominent Theosophist and late Councillor of H. P. Blavatsky, remarks whose terms he deemed a contravention of the Compact of Mutual Toleration which had been made by Sapere Aude [Westcott] on behalf of the G.D. on the one hand and by H.P.B. on behalf of the T.S. on the other.

A.B. promised to expostulate with Mrs. C.O.

Annie Horniman attended the Horus Temple's Equinox meeting, probably on Sunday 25 September, and reported to Mathers in writing a few days later.

*

Charges against Frater Firth¹

When requested by the Hierophant to act as Auditor he refused rudely and disrespectfully and sitting down suddenly he exclaimed 'I shan't'.

Also re speaking disrespectfully of our ceremonies. Instead of expressing penitence Frater Firth gloried in doing as he felt inclined in the Temple and said he would laugh there if he chose, even if turned out for doing so.

Private conversation with F.E.R.

Frater Firth said astr[ology] was 'mere divination'—showing a rebellious wish to pick and choose his subjects of study.

*

Also charges against Frater Harrison² re bad behaviour in the Temple

At tea in a semi-public room he spoke as if the Ceremonies were only foolish mummeries in his eyes.

¹ There were two Firths in the Horus Temple: Walter ('Cashier to the [Bradford] Magistrates') and Oliver. Both joined in December 1888. I do not know which one was involved but both had resigned by September 1893.

² F. D. Harrison ('Quanti Est Sapere'), who joined the G.D. as early as May 1888 and was No. 30 on the Roll, was expelled from the Order.

This Frater is, I imagine, a man who requires to learn to obey his superiors and acknowledge them as such, and also to be taught that unless Kabbalistical Truths are welcome to him, he must be expelled from our Order. I am most sorry that this unpleasant report is necessary but it was as well that our V.H. Frater Vota Vita Mea [T. H. Pattinson] should have had a stranger with him at this Equinox and it was an excellent object lesson for the Temple to be corrected by a Soror.

During the past year or so Annie Horniman had become aware of certain quirks in Mathers's character. She wrote in 1898:

I noticed the beginning of the political and other ♂ [Mars] feeling and we often nearly quarrelled about it. It was a great trouble to me but she [Vestigia] used to reassure me that in time I should feel it to be right and develop to her way of thinking . . . The political talk was gradual in its growth. I never liked the continual glorification of the Mars forces but the drinking and growing rowdiness pained me at first. The money affairs eventually made me unable to express my opinions freely.

There are a number of obscure references in various letters to Mathers's 'political' activities. It seems that Count MacGregor de Glenstrae was involved in some kind of Celtic lunatic fringe and hoped for a restoration of the House of Stuart. Yeats provided a clue in *Autobiographies*: 'Mathers imagined a Napoleonic rôle for himself, a Europe transformed according to his fancy, Egypt restored [to France?], a Highland Principality, and even offered subordinate posts to unlikely people.'¹

Contentedly settled in the new flat at 1 Avenue Duquesne, Vestigia wrote a chatty letter to Annie Horniman on New Year's Day 1893. It began 'Dearest Tabbie' and was signed 'Bergie'. Tabbie had been Annie's nickname at the Slade School and Mina Bergson was Bergie. Most of the letter was concerned with trivialities, e.g. Vestigia's interpretations of certain horoscopes, but there are references to Yeats and Dr Berridge, also to the tedium of being expected to perform divinations for members of her own family.

¹ W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, p. 415. Celtic loyalties as well as Magic brought Yeats and Mathers together. He went to Paris in 1896 to consult Mathers about the ritual for a projected Order of Celtic Mysteries. There was further discussion with him 'on Celtic things' in 1898. He briefly mentioned Mathers in a letter to Lady Gregory (25 April 1898): 'My host is a Celtic enthusiast who spends most of his day in highland costume to the wonder of the neighbours.'

I have heard nothing from Lily [Yeats's sister] except a lovely little Xmas card I received. It was somewhat like a talisman of the Sun. It seems she sent it on account of its occult tendencies. Wasn't it nice of her? In the note, too, there was not a word about herself. There must be an error about Billy's [Yeats's] remarks because we have just heard that he has been objecting to an Irish woman who was proposed (someone I do not know), certainly not Lily. He does not even know her, I think. Or is Billy turning a woman hater?

We have seen a great deal of Mde. Hennequin lately. She is now very serious in occ. study. (She has been in a most curious state of mind lately.) She has signed the G.D. pledge and I hope she will be admitted.¹

I think Resurgam's [Dr Berridge's] cures are done sooner than some you and others have tried, because he . . . seems to have tried cures on the astral body only, which is naturally much easier and safer, though in consequence of not going to the root of the affair is only temporary . . . His cures to me seem more subtle than his ordinary medicinal ones, more within the range of a mortal. I have been thinking much lately that you and I sometimes try what can only be done by an adept.

My tiresome relatives have been writing to us to discover a thief [probably by horary astrology], and another person has written asking the same sort of thing. It is quite a different affair when it is for the development of character . . . that help is wanted in.²

In January 1894 Mathers showed his appreciation of Annie Horniman's generosity to Vestigia and himself by inviting her to consecrate his new Ahathoor Temple No. 7 at 1 Avenue Duquesne on Saturday evening 6 January. She came with a mandate dated 3 January from 'N.O.M. 7° = 4° [Westcott] to consecrate the Temple with the proper forms and ceremonies'. Mathers was its Emperor, Vestigia its

¹ Madame Marceline Hennequin was admitted to the Order in London in March 1893. She never went further than the 2° = 9° grade. The latter ceremony took place on 10 July 1894, probably at Mathers's new Ahathoor Temple at his home in Paris.

² It is unlikely that Vestigia's brother, the philosopher Henri Bergson, wanted any thaumaturgic help. 'I have shown him everything that magic can do,' Mathers said of his brother-in-law, 'and it has had no effect on him.'—Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats*, 1865-1939, 1942, p. 106.

Praemonstratrix, and Oswald Murray its Cancellarius. The diary entries show that Murray was still in London in 1893 so he seems to have moved to Paris. He resigned from the Order in February 1894, only a month after the consecration ceremony.

W. B. Yeats arrived to stay with Mathers and Vestigia a month later. There is a reference to his impending visit in a letter to John O'Leary (7 February 1894):

I am going to Paris tonight to stay with Mathers at 1 Avenue Duquesne and am taking introductions to Verlaine and Mallarmé, other introductions I have refused, for just now I want a quiet dream with the holy Kabala for bible and naught else.¹

A vivid account of Mathers in Paris will be found in Yeats's *Autobiographies*. It was no doubt based upon impressions gathered during the next few years:

At first I used to stay with MacGregor Mathers and his gracious young wife near the Champ de Mars, or in the Rue Mozart . . . MacGregor Mathers, or MacGregor, for he had now shed the 'Mathers', would come down to breakfast one day with his Horace, the next day with his Macpherson's Ossian, considering both books of equal authenticity. Once when I questioned that of Ossian, he got into a rage—what right had I to take sides with the English enemy? and I found that for him the eighteenth century controversy still raged. At night he would dress himself in Highland dress, and dance the sword dance, and his mind brooded upon the ramifications of clans and tartans. Yet I have at moments doubted whether he had seen the Highlands, or even, until invited there by some White Rose Society, Scotland itself. Every Sunday he gave to the evocation of spirits, and I noted that upon that day he would spit blood. That did not matter, he said, because it came from his head, not his heart; what ailed him I do not know, but I think he lived under some great strain, and presently I noted that he was drinking too much neat brandy, though not to drunkenness. It was in some measure a Scottish pose and whether he carried it into later life like his Jacobite opinions I do not know.²

¹ *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. by Allan Wade, 1954, p. 230.

² W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1926, p. 413. On one occasion Mathers gave a visitor 'nothing but brandy and radishes' for luncheon (*ibid.*, p. 427). Annie Horniman had noticed the drinking (see p. 112). Mathers and Vestigia were in Scotland in the spring of 1897 when they were the guests of J. W. Brodie-Innes.

Joseph Hone, Yeats's official biographer, included the following reference to Mathers at this time. The anecdote is not to be found elsewhere:

Mathers was a gay and companionable man. In the evenings he made his wife and Yeats play chess with him, a curious form of chess with four players. Yeats' partner was Mrs. Mathers, Mathers' a spirit. Mathers would shade his eyes with his hands and gaze at the empty chair at the opposite corner of the board before moving his partner's piece.¹

Dr Berridge had copied the rules for the Theoricus Adeptus Minor examinations in October 1893. It is possible that the first promotions to this senior 5° = 6° grade were made about a year later. Florence Farr mentioned in an undated letter to F. L. Gardner (c. 1900?) that a certain document was never 'given out except to the original 5 T.A.M.'s'. The following notice, dated 1 November 1894, identifies four of them. It was a typical Mathers production:

Theoricus Adeptus Notice

1 Nov. 1894

To the V.H. Fratres and Sorores

Levavi Oculos [Percy Bullock]

Sapientia Sapienti Dona Date [Florence Farr]

Resurgam [Dr Edward Berridge]

Fortiter et Recte [Annie Horniman]

Ave, Fratres et Sorores,

As shown in Flying Roll 29 ['An Order as to Lieutenants': no copy is known to survive], addressed generally to the Members of the Second Order, I, having appointed you under the Symbols of certain Egyptian Divinities to exercise certain authority as laid down in the aforesaid notice: I hereby give you the necessary instructions for properly employing these particular symbols:

The Lamen of the God or Goddess in question is to be of any convenient or preferred size, and is to be worn suspended from a riband of the colour of the Element required.

The figure of the God or Goddess is to be painted, etc. thereon in any convenient colours (not necessarily those of its

¹ Joseph Hone, *W. B. Yeats, 1865-1939*, p. 106. They were playing the G.D.'s game of 'Enochian' chess. See Regardie, iv, 260-346 for a description of the Enochian system.

elements, as the Gods contain many of its correspondences in their Formulas, but copied from *any* good Egyptian representation).

The figure is to be within a double circle of the colour of the Element, and on a white ground. It may be either represented standing or seated. Within the double circle its name is to be written in Coptic letters.

This is to be worn at all meetings with the other Regalia. And when the Member in question is exercising his or her authority and judgment in the matter which pertains to the God or Goddess; let him or her, keeping the mind as pure as possible, take on the *colossal form* of the God or Goddess, as taught in Ritual Z, in the section entitled: 'Regarding the manner in which the Hierophant should conduct the Ceremony', and vibrate the name of the God or Goddess.

And thus let Him or Her judge the question *as apart from his ordinary human personality*; and to this end let him be sure to formulate himself in the figure of the God as colossal; *and not simply as an ordinary sized figure*. And though this may be at first difficult, it will gradually become easier of performance.

And the symbols of the Gods are given to you, that you may have greater Wisdom and Power in the resolution of difficult matters, than the Symbols of the Theoricus Grade would give you.

Vale Fratres et Sorores
Sub Umbra Alarum Tuarum
Deo Duce Comite Ferro 7° = 4°

The next surviving letter from Vestigia to 'My dear Fortiter' is dated 31 December 1895 and contains the first intimation that relations between Annie Horniman and the Chief were becoming strained. The background is obscure. It is evident, however, that apart from her annoyance at his politicking, his financial extravagance—which was wholly at her expense—was a source of worry.

In 1894 she had given him £280, but in 1895 her philanthropy cost her £434. Between 12 January and 25 May she provided £200 in four equal amounts of £50. Then early in July there was a sudden demand for £100. 'The £100 on 6th July 1895 was *asked* for as they expected important visitors,' she wrote in 1898. 'I thought old Adepts and I found later they were a duke and his suite. When I arrived in August the money was nearly all gone.'

At this point Soror Fortiter et Recte began to draw in her horns. The remaining payments during 1895 were as follows: £5 on 14 August, £30 in September and again in October, and another payment of £70 on 4 November.

The letters that follow undoubtedly refer to Annie Horniman's current psychological problems, which clearly had a sexual context, also to Dr Berridge's advocacy of Thomas Lake Harris's teachings and, by inference, his sexual-pneumatic philosophy (see p. 65 above). I am unable to make much sense of the latter or, indeed, of a great deal that was written in these letters. However, they indicate that Annie Horniman was in a highly unsettled state, also that trouble was brewing in the Second Order.

Vestigia's letter of 31 December 1895 is a strange document. The Elementals to which she referred were, according to Madame Blavatsky, 'the principal agents of disembodied but never visible spirits'.¹ Vestigia connected them with sexuality. She also emphasised the nature of her own completely asexual relationship with Mathers and denied Annie Horniman's apparent imputation that the Chief's teachings were 'impure'. Unfortunately there are no documents which explain the necessity for this reproach. Whatever he wrote or said about sexual matters was done privately because nothing on this subject will be found in any of the Second Order manuscripts. The text of Vestigia's letter follows:

87 Rue Mozart, Paris,
December 31st, 1895

My dear Fortiter,

Your letter has made me most unhappy. I promised once to tell you if I thought you were getting exaggerated or in any way tending to what you call a tendency to mania. Probably my advice and opinions are now worthless to you, as I thoroughly reverence all the teaching of the R.C. [Rosicrucian] Order.

But I will anyhow write to you what I think of your conduct in this matter and also about the Elemental Theory which has been the principal subject of the letters.

You say, or something to that effect, that you are asked to give up your self-respect. You know that you are not asked to change your mode of life in any way, or to teach another to do so. Knowing as yet only something of the composition of the human being (as a Theor[icus] Adept), you are really not in a position to give an opinion on these subjects; so that if one of

¹ H. P. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, 1877, p. xxx.

these uncomfortable cases that have been discussed as to elemental or human sexual connection (which I think with all other sexual connections are *bestly*) came up you would have to refer the question to a member of a much higher grade than Theor. Adept.¹

Any *much* higher grade (one who understands the subject a little better) would be willing to take the responsibility. In your illogical letter you say that Elementals forming part of your composition has not a bearing on the subject—if Elementals form a considerable part of you, they are not so incongruous to the human as you imply, and this theory bears strongly on the subject for their connection between a human and elemental is not so far removed from the usual one.

When I first heard of this theory it gave me a shock, but not such a horrible one as that which I had when I was young, about the human connection. Child or no, a natural thing should not upset one so. I remember that my horror of human beings for a while was so great that I could not look at my own mother without violent dislike—and loathing.

I have always chosen as well as 'SRMD' [Mathers] to have nothing whatever to do with any sexual connection—we have both kept perfectly clean I know, as regards the human, the elemental, and any other thing whatever.

I have tried, and I think succeeded, never to allow myself to think of any subject in that direction, and I think having been pretty well tested, personally as well as from one's own position in G.D., we are competent to give an opinion. To return to the Elementals, the story of Melusina, Undine, and others you will know of all refer to marriages between human and elemental and you think them probably very charming stories, because they have a halo of poetry round them. As to exaggeration in you, you distinctly have a fad as regards sexual subjects, and you know it is a dangerous one to have.

I doubt if you have thought over all these things with an unbiased mind.

If you do divination, when nervous or excitable you are apt (but that you know) to obtain false results. If you divine about this, you should be careful to equilibrate yourself absolutely before commencing.

¹ A Theoricus Adeptus Minor was a 5° = 6°. Hence the implication was that Annie Horniman must consult a 7° = 4°, i.e. Mathers or Westcott.

I cannot feel that those two last letters of yours are written with a sane cool mind. You will certainly be furious with me but this must be said.

Your last letter to 'SRMD' distinctly implies insult to him, for it attacks his teaching as impure—considering the great knowledge you have received through him, you might have at least waited until you had received more knowledge on the subject before you became so violent.

Personally, there is no one *in* or *out* of the GD in whose presence I would less allow myself an impure thought or action—next to the [invisible] Higher Chiefs I respect him more than any other being in the world—and it has hurt me so much that you should write as you have done.

Before I finish this I must tell you that while we thank you intensely for your great generosity and kind thoughtfulness in the past, we cannot of course accept anything more from you considering that you have charged us with immoral teachings. I think you know we only accepted your generous help because by so doing we could have the leisure to obtain for the Order some of the knowledge, which most admit is great knowledge—and both 'SRMD', myself and you, have respected this more than money.

Of course we are saddled with this house until April—we have just given notice this moment when we received your letter and can leave soon. I might have to ask you for just enough to get clear of the house, as we must set to at once to work for a living.

This correspondence continued throughout January 1895. In the absence of Annie Horniman's letters to Mathers and Vestigia much remains obscure. Dr Edward Berridge ('Resurgam') was involved. He had 'issued a pamphlet' and 'urged doctrines which we [i.e. certain Second Order members] all thought impure and mischievous for the younger students to whom he offered them'. Unfortunately the publication in question cannot be traced. However, it probably had some connection with the teachings of Thomas Lake Harris (see p. 65 above).¹

¹ The standard biographical study of T. L. Harris is H. W. Schneider and G. Lawton, *A Prophet and a Pilgrim*, 1942. Our Dr Berridge is not mentioned in this book but there are a dozen references to Dr C. M. Berridge, who wrote under the pseudonym 'Respiro' and who must have been a relative. He was 'first a minister of the Church of England, then became a Theosophist . . .' (p. 115). In 1897 some members of the

The next letter, dated 2 January 1895, exists only in the form of a draft and was intended for Mathers. About half is in Westcott's handwriting and the remainder appears to have been written by Mrs Rand ('Vigilate'). If it was sent to Mathers it would have been signed by Mrs Rand. The purpose of the letter was to defend the action of a group of presumably senior Theorici who had written to the Chief complaining of Frater Resurgam, i.e. Dr Berridge.

The G.H. Chief Adept in Charge [i.e. Westcott] has told me of the serious remarks made in your letter received today. In it, you condemn 'the Theorici' as a group for impugning the Rosic. teaching issued by you, and you say they mistrust you. I am at a loss to know why you say these things of 'the Theorici', for the only paper they have sent you was a suggestion that R[esurgam] was not a fitting member to be an officer of the Order because he issued a pamphlet and urged doctrines which we all thought impure and mischievous for the young students to whom he offered them and our action was of course based on his repeated offences of this kind.

Neither I, nor the other Theorici, deny that there may be an important dogma on the subject of the relation between men and Elementals, even for purposes of procreation for those who are much higher in Occultism than we. But that is quite a different thing to our tacitly acquiescing in Res. spreading among the ignorant a perverted indecent aspect of one of the Higher Truths.

I suppose that your idea of the loss of confidence in you of the Theorici rests upon FER's [Annie Horniman's] present attitude, in the expression of which in her last letter she has not consulted us—and of course we all know it is a subject on which she has cause to be specially sensitive.

We had no precedent for our action as a body in our appeal against Res. except the old one that a man shall be judged by his peers, and our appeal was made to you in view of strong representations which had reached us from all sides that a person

Second Order were convinced that Dr Edward Berridge was 'Respiro'. It is possible that he and Dr C. M. Berridge both used the pseudonym but one cannot be sure. For instance, the article on T. L. Harris, which was signed 'Respiro' in the October 1894 issue of A. E. Waite's periodical *The Unknown World*, suggests that the writer was familiar with the G.D.'s 'Rosicrucian' teachings, e.g. there is the statement that 'the occult power of colours arranged in various scales, is a great *arcantum* of the Rosicrucian brotherhood'. This would have been known to Dr Edward Berridge ('Resurgam'), but not necessarily to his namesake Dr C. M. Berridge.

of Resurgam's temperament was not fitted for a high office in the outer court of our temple [i.e. in the G.D. in the Outer].

We feel an intense want of confidence in Resurgam, but we are as a body working at our various occult studies in perfect harmony. Personally I am perfectly content and am pursuing my investigations feeling that I have received more keys to the knowledge of the universe than I have yet had time to use.

I cannot feel that I have taken any action in the matter that is of a nature aggressive either to the Chiefs of the Order or to you as our Chief Adept as acting as one of the mouthpieces of a great body of strong feeling both in the GD and the R.R. et A.C. The matter has reached such an acute stage that I feel obliged to mention that when I was a 4 = 7 Resurgam after giving me instruction in astrology attempted to kiss me, and I was obliged literally to turn him out of the house, so that I have personal experience of his possible behaviour to younger members.

The next letter in the series was from Mathers to Annie Horniman (8 January 1896) and once again there were 'sexual' implications.

(Private except to the Ch. Adept in Charge [Westcott])

Cara et V.H. Soror 'Fortiter et Recte',

I am glad to receive your written disclamation of having formulated any intentional charges against either the Rosicrucian Wisdom or myself, though I am bound to say that after repeated re-readings of your letters of the 26th and 30th ultimo. it was difficult for me to see how otherwise to interpret them. However, having now your official disclamation before me, I accept it was the *correct* interpretation of your meaning. I do this with the greater pleasure, considering how much I have been pained by their (to me) only possible apparent rendering, conformably to the written sense. A chief reason with me in spending much time over an important letter, is that I may be assured of its conveying the meaning I intend. Unimportant letters can be written with ease, but hurry and want of reflection in those of weight and moment I have always found bring vexation in their train.

But there is one especial point in your letter of disclamation, of the 6th instant, which I now at once notice and combat, because it is the key of the error in your working; and its

unchecked encouragement will lead you into serious mistake and trouble in all more advanced [occult] working. In the world without it would be liable to bring you into frequent clash and dissension with others. But in our Order it will be far more serious in effect, and will be certain to bring serious trouble upon you, if you do not comprehend its meaning. I do not say this to wound and hurt you, believe me; I have repeated this before and tried to make you understand this error to which I allude; and you have done so much good and unselfish work hitherto, and have so tried to improve, that it is worth some trouble on my part to help you to cure yourself. Believe me, *it is no pleasure for me to reprove your faults*. It would be far easier and pleasanter to dwell on your many and prominent good qualities.

The phrases in your letter to which I take exception are: 'I could not accept it as for me, *and my present companions*, the propriety etc.' . . . 'the desirability *formed in my present state* of contemplating such alliances *being made by my friends etc. etc.*' (The underlining is mine.) You have *every* right to your own opinion regarding *yourself* but what your *companions* do is a matter for *their* consideration and consciences. And now I will show you how this is an error in occult working, and why. When you entered the Order, you took the motto of 'Fortiter et Recte', that is, you left the 'Miss Horniman' personality outside the Order. Do not forget that the words 'person', 'personality' are derived from the Latin word 'Persona' which means 'a mask'. Now if, in the Order, you *will* dwell on the *outer personalities* of the others with whom you are associated; to such an extent that you *are actually hindered in working spiritually* by their neighbourhood, as you insinuate you would be, it is a sure proof that you have brought far too much of *your own personality* into the working of 'Fortiter et Recte'. Why, even if you were surrounded by the Qlipoth you ought by this time to be able to protect yourself and continue your operation.

Assuredly, if in an operation of the *Light* you allow your personality as 'Miss Horniman' to act as a factor, you will awake immediately the Forces of your Evil Persona. Thus, were it the invocation of Adonai, or Spiritual Development, you would have a horrible influx of the *exact opposite of the pure*, into your sphere; disgusting and obscene thoughts etc., in other words, you would awake the Development of the Evil Persona, *through the Human*.

If, on the contrary, you are not 'Miss Horniman' but *an initiate* striving after *Light*, the Evil Persona cannot arise.

If when you are doing a Magical Working, you trace a symbol too much in Assiah [the world in which we live and as we know it], and lay too much value on the mere mechanical correctness of the same, without considering its spiritual effect, you will at once awake the Forces of Doubt, etc, in the Evil Persona, i.e. the Tagaririm [possibly the demonic hierarchy]. And if, in teaching, you instruct your pupils too much to learn like school-children instead of student initiates, you will be paving the way for *them* to commit the same error.

A [magical] Formula properly applied, will awaken a Force; but it depends upon the Operator's understanding thereof on what plane it is aroused; and thus it is possible to awake an Evil Force through a Divine Formula.

And now I must ask you, whenever matters of *sex* arise in the Order, and you are asked for instruction thereon; to refer them to G.H. Frater N.O.M. [Westcott]; and not judge them yourself, until you can do so *apart* from your outer personality.

I do not want to rake up the matter of your previous letters, but I may say: re Amore—she was recommended Elemental marriage, because of in her case the *extreme* danger of invoking an incubus instead of a Fay, through want of self control.¹

Re 3 = 8 Soul Lecture. I intruded the parenthesis in my letter concerning abuse of conjurative force against an invoked Elemental to answer this.

And now, as I close this letter of probably unpalatable advice to you, so do I close it in all friendship and sincerity; hoping that this time at least you will be able to comprehend my meaning; and that in it I am neither charging you with error in the *whole* of your working, nor denying the great part of your occult power which has been well and worthily used, nor intentionally using my authority as a Chief to wound your feelings and lower your self-respect.

And so, with all honour and affection, Vale V.H. Soror, sub umbra alarum tuarum Jahwe [the last word in Hebrew characters].

Deo Duce Comite Ferro

7° = 4°

Mathers wrote to Annie Horniman again on 14 January. The crisis of confidence was over, but only temporarily.

¹ 'Amore' was Mrs A. J. Carden.

Private

Dear Fortiter,

I cannot tell you how much we have both (VNR and myself) been pleased to find that you did not intend the meaning which we both thought you did in your letter to me concerning the 'Respiro' pamphlet &c. I think I have never before been so wounded and hurt in my life, as at what neither of us could see how to interpret than as *first*, a slur on the Wisdom of our Order; *second*, a direct charge of wilfully perverting the same, against me as a Chief of the Second Order, *third*, the implied charge of impurity and consequently of hypocrisy against both Vestigia and myself; the latter being the more grave as coming from you who have known us personally so long; and to whom (in the Outer World) we are under so many obligations; *fourthly*, of laziness in administration as implied by the apparent (to you) necessity of having to suspend yourself till such time as I could be sufficiently awakened from my (in your opinion) habitual lethargy, to act with energy and decision.

We both read and re-read your letters, but could not assimilate any other meaning notwithstanding we both wished to do so; and were therefore compelled to adopt one of two alternatives; either that you honestly both believed us guilty of these faults, and, however unauthorised to do so, took upon yourself the task of charging us with them, in our various capacities; or that you were temporarily (and unintentionally no doubt) giving way to an unbalanced condition of mind which would be likely to ultimate in a condition favourable to the condition of a mania.

In the first case, it would have evidently been impossible (supposing us to preserve any self-respect at all) to remain on friendly terms with you; and still less to take the favours and monetary assistance as we had been doing.

In the second case, the only honourable action evident to be taken, was to check your state of mind, and that sharply, promptly and at whatever cost.

We are therefore only too pleased to be able to resume our former relationship of sincere friendship with you, if you, on your part, care to do so.

With regard to the monetary assistance you have so kindly and generously given us; of course it has helped me enormously in my work; and without it I could not have done so much as I have. But however want of it may cripple us; we could not

continue to take it from one who suspected our honour. So that if you really trust our sincerity; as I know you formerly did; of course it would be foolish of me to refuse it from you. But if on the contrary, you have still a feeling of mistrust and suspicion, we could not in honour take the same from you, longer than would enable us to leave this house which we would be prepared to do in a few weeks time, as I gave notice on the 1st of this month, so as to be prepared for any eventuality.

With every sincere good wish,

S. L. MacGregor Mathers,
'S Rioghail Mo Dhream

Annie Horniman's last remittance, for seventy pounds, had been made early in November 1895 and Mathers and Vestigia were already short of money. Vestigia wrote to her on 16 January 1896:

Thank you so much for your kindness. We would prefer the quarterly payment, if the same to you. Only we have just had to pay the rent and have but little left over, so that it would be very difficult for us to wait till March. But if it would not inconvenience you for the quarterly payments to commence soon, it would be all right.

Annie Horniman had now agreed to give them £300 per annum, payable in quarterly instalments, and seventy-five pounds was remitted on 24 January.

Mathers and Vestigia at least enjoyed a carefree evening on Tuesday 17 March when the Literary and Artistic Association of St Patrick, of which Mathers was Honorary Corresponding Member for Scotland, celebrated St Patrick's Day with a banquet followed by a soiree at the Lyon d'Or restaurant in the Rue du Helder. Mathers sent a report to the Edinburgh *Northern Chronicle*, where it was mentioned that it was 'written by a Scotsman, and a Highlander, long resident in Paris'. Maud Gonne was at the festivities and 'made a moving speech on the sufferings of Ireland, which was applauded to the echo'. A brief list of those present included 'MacGregor Mathers (who wore the MacGregor tartan)' and 'Farquharson-Stuart, Baron of Auchriachan', whose claim to a title appears to be as doubtful as that of Count MacGregor de Glenstrae. However, to quote the last sentence in Mathers's report: 'The whole affair passed off admirably.'¹

¹ The Association of St Patrick was founded by W. B. Yeats's friend John O'Leary when he was in exile in France. See W. B. Yeats's letter to O'Leary of 31 March 1897 in *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. by Allan Wade, 1954, p. 282.

A number of subsequent events are briefly outlined in the letter written by Annie Horniman to William Peck, of the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh, on 25 December 1896.

In March [1896] Mr. Mathers came to London and called upon me. He told me that he had leisure for politics but none for the arrears of work at 62 [Oakley Square, the headquarters of the Second Order]. In May in your presence Mr. Brodie-Innes boasted to me that he was in continual correspondence with Mr. Mathers on political matters, *not* on Order business. At the end of May Mrs. Brodie-Innes told me that Mr. Mathers was not coming to the Corpus Christi meeting because of politics.¹ The feeling that my honour as an upright person was being injured by supporting a political movement of which I did not approve, grew too strong to be borne. In June I wrote to Paris and said that the payment in July (£75) would be the last. Both wrote me courteous answers. In July a letter was sent to Mrs. Kennedy ['Volo'] and Mrs. Macrae ['Vincit Qui Se Vincit'] containing 13 charges against the Adepts but 11 were personal to me. In September I resigned my office of Sub Praef[monstratrix of Isis-Urania Temple] and was rudely answered.

Mathers's impolite reply was written on 17 September 1896.

... I accept your resignation and thank you for your past services as far as they have not been used by you to *attempt* to *lessen* my authority.

Quite recently it has come to my knowledge that you took upon yourself to forbid a Member of the First Order to do some translation for me in Ahathoor Temple, and which I had not only sanctioned but requested.

I am satisfied neither with your Symbol,² nor your Working, nor your influence in the G.D. during the past thirteen months.

By now aware that the Theorici Adepts Minores (i.e. the relatively few members of the Second Order who had passed all the examinations for the Th.A.M. 5° = 6° grade) had become so restless as to threaten his authority, Mathers circulated to them the extraordinary manifesto

¹ Some pencilled notes made by Annie Horniman at the end of 1898 contain the following item: 'June 4 [1896]. C.C. day and absence with insults'.

² This appears to refer to the Neophyte symbol which she wore at G.D. ceremonies. See p. 134 below.

printed below. This is a key document for any assessment of Mathers's mentality, since it vividly illustrates his paranoid state of mind.

The Manifesto of G.H. Frater Deo Duce Comite Ferro 7° = 4°, Adepts Exemptus, Chief Adept and Ambassador of those Secret and Unknown Magi who are the concealed Rulers of the Wisdom of the True Rosicrucian Magic of Light:

Unto

The Theorici Adepts Minores of the Order R.: R.: et A.: C.:

Notice: This Manifesto is to be placed in the hands of each Theoricus Adeptus Minor upon his or her attainment of that Grade. After he or she has carefully read the same; he or she must send a written Statement of voluntary submission in all points regarding the Orders of the G.: D.: in the Outer and the R.: R.: et A.: C.: to G.H. Frater Deo Duce Comite Ferro before being permitted to receive any further instruction. Unless he or she is prepared to do this, he or she must either Resign from the Order, or elect to remain a Zelator Adeptus Minor only. And he or she hereby undertakes to refrain from stirring up any strife or schism hereon in the First and Second Orders.

It is necessary that you who have now attained the Grade of Theoricus Adeptus Minor after having passed through the numerous examinations on the Secret Knowledge of the Zelator Adeptus Minor Grade of the Second Order should now understand how that wonderful system of Occult Wisdom has been obtained for you.

Prior to the establishment of the Vault of the Adepts in Britannia (the First Order of the G.: D.: in the Outer being therein actively working) it was found absolutely and imperatively necessary that there should be some eminent Member especially chosen to act as the link between the Secret Chiefs and the more external forms of the Order. It was requisite that such Member should be me, who, while having the necessary and peculiar educational basis of critical and profound Occult Archaeological Knowledge should at the same time not only be ready and willing to devote himself in every sense to a blind and unreasoning obedience to those Secret Chiefs:—to pledge himself for the fidelity of those to whom this Wisdom was to be communicated:—to be one who would shrink neither from danger physical, astral, or spiritual, from privation or hardship,

nor from terrible personal and psychic responsibility; one who, while receiving for transmission the Hidden Wisdom of the Rosy Cross, should be willing to pledge himself under the severest penalties possible, that the Order should be worked in conformity with the principles laid down by those Secret Chiefs not only for the present time but in the future also:—and who should further possess an Iron Will unable to be broken by any unlooked for opposition that might arise in the carrying out of these duties:—he must further pledge himself to obey in everything the commands of the aforesaid Secret Chiefs '*perinde ac cadaver*' body and soul without question and without argument whether their commands related to:—Magical Action in the External World; or to Psychic Action in other Worlds or Planes, whether Angelic, Spiritual, or Demonic; or to the Inner Administration of the Order to which so tremendous a Knowledge was to be communicated; and that he must further be prepared to abide in any country; to undertake any journey at a moment's notice, or to confront the chances of death, pestilence or elemental upheaval, if called upon in the course of fulfilling their demands to do so; that he would further undertake, whatever might occur, never to lose faith in the Chiefs of the Order, and to keep his body in such a condition of physical health and especially of vital energy, that the ordinary chances of corporal illness and exhaustion should not be permitted to become any bar to his constant efforts and exertions:—all this and yet further conditions were insisted upon as the only Pledges under which this Divine Wisdom was to be permitted to be given out:—and these had to be confirmed by the most terrible *Obligations*.

I, MacGregor Mathers, 'S Rioghail Mo Dhream 5° = 6°, Deo Duce Comite Ferro 7° = 4°, was the Frater selected for this Work: whom you know as the Chief Adept of the Second Order under the title of Deo Duce Comite Ferro which I had taken upon me.

At my urgent request Soror Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum [i.e. his wife] was allowed to be associated with me in this labour, but only on condition of pledging herself in the same manner, though in a less degree.

With all this it was insisted that I, the aforesaid Frater, and in a less degree the aforesaid Soror were to be held responsible for any action *undertaken* thro' misapprehension of

the instructions of the Chiefs, no matter in *what manner* those instructions were to be conveyed.

That yet further it must not be expected that these *pledges* should confer upon me any right to expect abnormal material support or assistance. The conditions in question, being only those on which I was to be allowed so great an honour as to be the Recipient of the Knowledge for transmission to the Order; and also that in all this my obedience was not to be the passive one of an unreasoning Machine, but the active one of the intelligent and voluntary Ministrant of the Magic of the Eternal Gods.

These preliminary conditions having been solemnly undertaken by us; then, and only then was I able to proceed to the attainment of the Knowledge of the full 5° = 6° Ritual and of the Obligation thereof; and the establishment of the Vault of the Adepts; my quitting England being a necessary preliminary thereto.

The working of the Second Order having been thus initiated I was enabled to proceed to the acquirement of the Wisdom of the Zelator Adeptus Minor Grade for transmission to you:—a work, the enormous strain and labour of which it is impossible for me to exaggerate. For, you must not think that the obtaining of this Knowledge of the Second Order for you has been merely and simply the somewhat commonplace labour of translating a heap of unclassified MSS ready placed in my hands for that purpose. This might indeed be difficult and fatiguing, but it would be the merest child's play compared with the Herculean task that I have been called upon to execute.

Concerning the Secret Chiefs of the Order, to whom I make reference and from whom I have received the Wisdom of the Second Order which I have communicated to you, I can tell you *nothing*.

I do not even know their earthly names.

I know them only by certain secret mottoes.

I have *but very rarely* seen them in the physical body; and on such rare occasions *the rendezvous was made astrally by them* at the time and place which had been astrally appointed beforehand.

For my part I believe them to be human and living upon this earth; but possessing terrible superhuman powers.

When such *rendezvous* has been in a much frequented place, there has been nothing in their personal appearance and dress to

mark them out as differing in any way from ordinary people except the appearance and sensation of transcendent health and physical vigour (whether they seemed persons in youth or age) which was their invariable accompaniment; in other words, the physical appearance which the possession of the Elixir of Life has traditionally supposed to confer.

On the other hand, when the *rendezvous* has been in a place free from easy access by the Outer World they have usually been in symbolic robes and insignia.

But my physical intercourse with them on these rare occasions, has shewn me how difficult it is for a mortal, even though advanced in Occultism, to support the actual presence of an Adept in the Physical Body; and such meetings *have never been granted to my own personal request*, but only by their own special appointment; and usually only for some reason of special importance.¹

I do not mean that in such rare cases of physical converse with them that the effect produced on me was that intense physical exhaustion which follows depletion by magnetism; but, on the contrary, the sensation was that of being in contact with so terrible a force that I can only compare it to the *continued* effect of that usually experienced momentarily by a person *close* to whom a flash of lightning passes during a violent storm; coupled with a difficulty in respiration similar to the half-strangling effect produced by ether; and if such was the result produced in one, as tested as I have been in practical Occult Work, I cannot conceive a much less advanced Initiate being able to support such a strain even for five minutes, without Death ensuing.

Almost the whole of the Second Order Knowledge has been obtained by me from them in various ways; by clairvoyance, by Astral projection on their part and on mine—by the table,

¹ Mathers also told W. B. Yeats about the Secret Chiefs: 'Once, when Mathers told me that he had met his Teachers in some great crowd, and only knew that they were phantoms by a shock that was like an electric shock to his heart, I asked him how he knew he was not deceived or hallucinated. He said, "I had been visited by one of them the other night, and I followed him out, and followed him down that little lane to the right. Presently I fell over the milk-boy, and the milk-boy got in a rage because he said that not only I but the man in front had fallen over him." He, like all that I have known who have given themselves up to images, and to the speech of images, thought that when he had proved that an image could act independently of his mind, he had proved also that neither it, nor what it had spoken, had originated there.' *Autobiographies*, 1926, pp. 416-17.

by the ring and disc,¹ at times by a direct Voice audible to my external ear, and that of Vestigia, at times copied from books brought before me, I know not how, and which disappeared from my vision when the transcription was finished, at times by appointment *Astrally* at a certain place, till then unknown to me; and appointments made in the same manner and kept in the same manner as in the case of those rare occasions when I have met them by appointment in the physical body.

The strain of such labour has been, as you can conceive, enormous; in especial the obtaining of the Z ritual, which I thought would have killed me, or Vestigia or both, the nerve prostration after each reception being terrible from the strain of testing the correctness of every passage thus communicated; the nerve prostration alluded to being at times accompanied by profuse cold perspirations, and by severe loss of blood from the nose, mouth, and occasionally the ears.

You know the extreme and sustained attention and critical judgment requisite to obtain any reliable and truthful answer through the Table or the Ring and the Disc. Add to all this Ceremonies of Evocation, almost constant strife with opposing Demonic Forces endeavouring to stop the delivery and reception of the Wisdom; and the necessity of keeping the mind exalted towards the Higher Self; while at the same time exercising the critical Archaeological Knowledge and having to make the many references necessary to detect any misapprehension of meanings of passages in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Egyptian and what not; and you will only then have a faint idea of what my struggles have been. The only one among you who has known the fearful difficulties I have had to contend with, has been Sapere Aude [Westcott] and he has therefore well known that such work could not be done in a hurry and rapidly like mere mechanical transcription, or even like ordinary original composition.

But unless the Chiefs are willing to give me the Knowledge, I cannot obtain it for you:—neither will I give it to you unless I know that the Order is being worked conformably with their wishes and instructions.

¹ 'These can best be described as mediaeval equivalents of the ouija board of modern spiritualism and the pendulum used in modern radiesthesia. A gold ring is suspended on a silken thread and its gyrations over the disc, on which are written the letters of the alphabet, indicate the answers to the questions asked by the Magician.'—Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, 1970, p. 45n.

What I discountenance and will check and punish whenever I find it in the Order is any attempt to criticise and interfere with the *private life of Members of the Order*; neither will I give the Wisdom of the Gods to those who endeavour to use it as a means of justifying intolerance, intermeddling, and malicious self conceit. The private Life of a Person is a matter between himself or herself, and his, or her God; and no person who has taken the obligation of 5° = 6°, and studied the same can be ignorant of its clauses and penalties.

The Temples of the Order are places for the performance of Sacred Ceremonies, and the petty criticisms and uncharitableness of social clubs and drawing rooms, should be rigidly banished from them. To invoke carelessly and inadequately the Divine White Brilliance and the Forms of the Eternal Gods while permitting your mind and lower personality to be filled with uncharitableness towards your neighbour, self righteous pride, and trivial social considerations, *is an abominable blasphemy*; it is that taking the Name of God in vain which is a most pernicious sin; for by so doing you cannot touch the God, but instead and in his semblance arouse the Evil Antithesis.

This, I know, has been a sin among you during the last twelve months; and be sure that this must bring its reaction; and there is no surer road to this error than the encouragement of the feeling of the Pharisee: 'God, I thank thee that *I* am not as other men are'. Such a formula, whether expressed or implied, means at once separation from that God who is universal.

Of what use are the Second Order Centres, if they are not places where the Gods and the Angelic Forces are invoked in Spirit and Truth; and where Mystic Powers have their abode, and where petty social gossip can find no place.

It is possible for you to be *word perfect* in all the knowledge of the Zelator Adeptus Minor Grade and to know all its Ceremonies by rote, and yet unless you can *really* and *profoundly* grasp their inner meaning, an uninitiated person who has a strong will, faith, reverence, self sacrifice, and perseverance, may be more truly a Magician than you.

Finally, the reading of this Manifesto will have made you comprehend the enormous amount of time and energy necessary to obtain the Wisdom of the Second Order. To this must be added the considerable amount of labour connected with the Order—my own work in the outer world—and with all this the

imperative necessity of keeping my physical health and vital energy always up to full pitch; and at times having had the extra disadvantage of being compelled to earn my own living in the world.

I therefore expect you to aid me to the best of your ability by carrying out my wishes regarding the management of the Order and by abstaining to the utmost of your power from putting any extra hindrance in my way.

I have considered it advisable that you should have both had in your possession and carefully studied the whole knowledge of the Zelator Adeptus Minor Grade before receiving this Manifesto.

S. L. MacGregor Mathers. 'S Rioghail Mo Dhream
Deo Duce Comite Ferro 7° = 4°
87 Rue Mozart, Auteuil, Paris
October 29th, 1896

Annie Horniman dutifully sent her 'written statement of voluntary submission' to Mathers. The Chief, however, was still unsatisfied and wrote to her on 22 November 1896:

I have duly received your answer to my Manifesto, and am satisfied with the same; save that I expect submission in the *working of the Order* of the R.R. et A.C., and that of the G.D., as well as in the teaching of both.

It is in matters concerning the *working* and *administrative management* that I have been so displeased with you and others of late, or I should say during the past twelvemonth.

The Order is a *fraternity*, wherein the feelings of *fraternity* should exist between the members. Of what use is it to call each other Frater and Soror, and advocate the principles of mutual love and harmony; unless these are carried out in practice as well as in theory! There are enough and to spare of Societies and clubs in the outer world, where social considerations and gossip are paramount, and where a thinly veiled system of private pique and hostility obtains. Let those who love such petty bickerings and disputes, belong to such clubs and societies; but I will have *none* of this in the G.D. Either the word 'fraternal' implies such mutual forbearance and trust, as should be the mainspring of a higher and better life than that of ordinary Society; or it is simply a mockery to employ it. The nature or natures which can take a delight in injuring their co-workers, in professing friendship with the lips, the better

to wound them when absent; and which endeavour to excuse this by the profession of zeal for the welfare of the Order; are not those in whom the Divine nature of the Higher Soul is paramount, nor are they those to whom the Divine Wisdom should be given.

But, however much I have been justly hurt at the *utterly uncalled for* spite and hostility, you have causelessly displayed towards me of late; injuring me by *every* means in your power, from endeavoring to undermine my authority in the Order, down to reducing me to poverty in the Outer World; I have always and shall always value the great amount of useful and unselfish work you did in both Orders, especially as the bearer of the Neophyte symbol, which latterly I only retook from you at the Corpus Christi, at the especial suggestion of S.A., rearranging the officers according to his scheme; his wish being to retain L.O. [Percy Bullock], and change you, S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] and Resurgam [Dr Berridge], while asking you to continue your teaching. The only fault I found with the latter was that you were inclined to treat the instruction rather from the point of view of *scholar* rather than of student.

With S.A. [Westcott], also, I have been much annoyed of late, considering that he has all along known what no one else in the Order has, namely the *severe* strain of my labours therein, and yet has deliberately endeavoured to reduce me to the level of a puppet.

Unfortunately neither the 'submission' of Annie Horniman nor that of any other Theoricus Adeptus Minor would help to pay the rent of 87 Rue Mozart, and on 27 November Vestigia wrote to ask for money:

I am writing to you now to ask if you could help us for a few months with money. It is like this. Last January we could have managed, by giving notice (3 months) to have quitted this house. 'Fra. S.R.' just then received the offer of a post which was good from a monetary point of view, but which would have compelled us to go away to the East; and the G.D. might have had for a while to take second place—so when you wrote (in January) about continuing help we gladly accepted rather than go away then. Then the house according to the rule of the place was taken for another year which has been most awkward, but we can now give notice in January to leave in April if necessary. In spite of all efforts we have not been able to keep out of debt.

We are hard at work. 'S.R.' is working for publication but very little remuneration can come till the work is finished.¹ I am trying drawing also, but there are twenty failures to one success.

I would not write this to you did I not feel desperate. 'S.R.' does not know that I am doing so, but of course I shall tell him.

We really have more on our shoulders than two mortals, however strong, can get through. We feel that at any cost [the] G.D. must be carried on (at least our share of it). It is a terrible responsibility, but must be carried through. This gives me courage to write to you thus about the wretched money—otherwise I could not put myself in what you may think a humiliating position.

You will have seen that manifesto lately of 'S.R.', so you will understand better perhaps how fearful the strain of one's life is apart from monetary or other bothers on the same plane.

That is why I knew that my painting could only be very third-rate, while I gave quite my best to assisting 'S.R.' with the 5 = 6 [instruction].

Will you now be frank with me and tell me what you have against me personally that you have not written? Or course we will always meet as 'Sorores', but I would like your friendship, if you care to have mine.

If Fra 'SR has been angry with you in the Order; you must admit that he has been justified, for in the Order we know that you have not been loyal to him as representing your principal occult teacher (at least in the Outer World).

Still you did not know quite his position so I think I must explain things somewhat. If we could meet it would be easy to talk over everything—still I suppose that it is not possible just yet. Believe me that I am sincere to you.

Annie Horniman acknowledged Vestigia's letter but did not send any money. By this time she was in Florence and appears to have remained in Italy until at least the beginning of 1897. Enraged at her indifference both to his financial plight and to his 'authority', Mathers peremptorily expelled her from the Order. He wrote to her on 3 December 1896:

In my letter to you in answer to your reply to my manifesto,

¹ This was Mathers's *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*, which was in any case not published until 1898 and proved to be a most unprofitable venture.

I insisted upon your complete and absolute submission to my authority as regards the *management as well as the teaching* of both the First and Second Orders. You have now had more than sufficient time to send me this. Not only have you not done so, but in your letter to VNR [Vestigia] you again tax me with injustice. I do not care one atom what you *think*, but I refuse absolutely to permit open criticism of, or argument concerning my actions in either Order, from you or any other Member. The attitude you have chosen to take leaves me no other alternative than (however unwillingly) to remove your name from the Roll of the Order; for I will not continue to teach one who persistently opposes my authority, and endeavours to influence others to do so. I could not consider that the person whom I saw shuffling her feet and crying in a hysterical attack in the Musée Guimet because the style of Indian Art affected her nerves unpleasantly—and who on recovering from this attack made VNR and myself solemnly promise not only to warn *but to check her in any and every way, no matter how*, if at any future time we thought she was beginning to show any trace of development of hereditary mania—such a person, I say, would be utterly unfit to correct me in the extremely complex administration of such an Order as the Rosicrucian. This promise of checking you, VNR and I have fulfilled. I do not say that I consider you insane; but the intense arrogance, narrowness of judgment, and self-conceit you have displayed during the past twelve months (and which I saw two years ago, and tried all in my power to check gently then), are, as any physician will tell you, the beginnings, believe me, which lead to such a result.

As regards your conduct to me and VNR personally, I consider it *abominable*.

It is useless your thinking to raise up fresh dissensions against me, for I have received thorough and complete submission from SA, LO, SSDD, Resurgam, APS, Vigilante, Non Sine Numine, Sub Spe and Shemeber.¹

I now therefore take leave of you, with much regret, as one whom VNR and myself at one time both sincerely loved and esteemed; and whom also we regarded as a true and faithful friend, until recent events had shewn us to the contrary.

¹ i.e. from Westcott, Percy Bullock, Florence Farr, Dr Berridge, Dr Pullen Burry, Mrs Rand, Colonel Webber Smith, J. W. Brodie-Innes and Pamela Bullock. I assume that there were a few other Th.A.M.s but that Mathers did not name them.

It was typical of Mathers's high-handed methods that he did not bother to inform Westcott of Annie Horniman's expulsion, but then, as we know, he had latterly been 'much annoyed' with the Chief Adept in Anglia. Westcott wrote to F. L. Gardner on 10 December and mentioned that he had heard the news from Percy Bullock and his wife and learned from them that Mathers had also written to Mrs Rand ('Vigilate'), who had succeeded Fortiter as Sub-Praemonstratrix of Isis-Urania Temple. 'It is said to have been done on Dec. 3,' he wrote, 'but up to now the 10[th] I have recd. no official notice. I could not get to your office today. I cannot write anything to the Chief until I hear from him. It is a terrible reward for all her work and efforts.'

Annie Horniman wrote to Westcott, probably towards the end of the month, and sent him copies of her previous correspondence with Mathers. Westcott could offer little consolation. His undated letter shows that he supposed that Mathers was his superior in occult knowledge, also that he feared the Chief would retaliate roughly were he to protest.

Dear FER,

I am horrified at your letter and enclosures now to hand—and have no comfort to give.

There is no doubt that he is more high up than I am, and I have no power to prevent any action of his—and any protest which I might make would only risk my own degradation in office, which I do not think would be for the general good of the Order. You have my utmost sympathy with you in your troubles, and all my friends will join me in wishing you all good. The clouds may drift away some day and bring you a bright good morning.

Westcott's friend F. L. Gardner received some information about Fortiter's banishment direct from Mathers on about 20 December. Not yet a Theoricus Adeptus Minor and a senior member of the Second Order, although he soon would be, he was now regularly corresponding with the Chief because he had offered financial backing for the publication of Mathers's projected edition of *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*. Perhaps Mathers felt that he owed his new benefactor an explanation as far as Fortiter was concerned, the more so because he must have known that they were close friends. Accordingly Mathers wrote on 19 December 1896:

Re F.E.R. I have *most unwillingly* been compelled to take the

step of removing her from the roll of the Order; for I will not permit longer her continued insubordination to me. She was willing enough, as most of them are, to take all the knowledge I can teach her; at the same time she does everything in her power to counteract my authority in the Order.

At this point in time Gardner decided to organise a petition for Fortiter's reinstatement in the Order. The outcome of this undertaking is described in the next chapter.

* * *

The Petition

It is probable that Gardner had already begun to organise the Petition before he received Mathers's letter of 19 December, because a number of people who lived outside London signed the document on 21 and 22 December. He drafted the text himself, perhaps with Westcott's help and approval, and mailed typed copies to members of the Second Order. He may not have had access to a complete list of names and addresses but achieved a fairly extensive coverage. The recipients were asked to write the petition in duplicate and send both copies to him. The text he supplied follows:

I, the undersigned, having heard with the profoundest regret and sorrow, that you as representative of the Chiefs of the Second Order have found it necessary to remove our V.H. Soror F. et R. from the Roll of the Order: do hereby most respectfully petition for the reconsideration of the decision on the grounds that she has for so long been so earnest a Student and so energetic and self-sacrificing a Teacher to those junior to her.

For a member who has proved herself so devoted to the Order, I ask you for a merciful judgment of her failings, whatever they may have been, and hope you may be able to obtain a reversal of the Judgment pronounced against her.

Your earnest and devoted pupil,

[Signature]

It will be noticed that Mathers was not being asked to annul his own decision, but to 'obtain a reversal of the Judgment' pronounced by the unknown Chiefs of the Second Order.

Gardner received thirty-nine replies, of which twenty-nine were affirmative, nine were negative, while one member remained on the fence. Since the signed petitions remained in Gardner's possession he cannot have sent them to Mathers, probably because he had learned that the Chief would not accept them.

In the meantime Annie Horniman was busy waging her own cam-

paign against Mathers from Florence. I have already quoted from her letter of 25 December 1896 to William Peck (see p. 126 above). What had affronted her, she told him, was the news that she had only just received from Mrs Rand, namely that she had been *publicly* expelled from the Order. She also gave him some information that no one else, with the exception of Helen Rand, had hitherto known, namely more or less complete details of her financial bounty to Mathers and Vestigia. Over the years since 5 March 1891 she had given them £1,334. Now, however, the facts were going to be divulged.

I shall send this letter to Mr. Pattinson of Horus Temple, of which I am an Hon. Member myself, and to Mrs. Kennedy ['Volo'] of Isis-Urania and the Second Order . . . I make no defence and I will leave no schism behind me—but I wish all honest people should be clearly informed as to what my actual crime is.

Mathers and Vestigia were briefly in London at the end of January 1897 in order to calm the reproachful Theorici. Annie Horniman's friends Mrs Kennedy and Mrs Rand both wrote to her: the former on 24 January and the latter on 29 January, and each sent affectionate and sorrowful messages from Vestigia. Mrs Rand mentioned that she had had a long talk with her. In the course of this conversation Vestigia did her best to shift the responsibility for Fortiter's expulsion from Mathers to the Secret Chiefs. Extracts from Mrs Rand's long and rather breathless letter follow:

I went and saw Vestigia at Recta Pete's [Miss Ada Waters] yesterday and had a long talk mostly about you. SRMD [Mathers] is so angry with me he refuses to see me! V. is exactly the same as ever and is honestly most distressed about the expulsion. She said that the order came from the Higher Chiefs and not from SRMD and when he received it he exclaimed: 'Not that, it is too hard!' and asked if it could be mitigated.

I asked why he wrote to you as if it were a personal order of his own and he said that he had been ordered to give instructions in his own name lately, as if everything were given out 'from the Secret Chiefs' people would be wanting to have these Chiefs produced etc. She said that for the last year there has been a tremendous test of faith in the Chiefs going on, and over and over again she has wanted to write and tell me to be on our guard but was not allowed to do so.

Every six months the symbols of the 5 = 6 are looked through

by *those above SRMD*, and it was last Corpus Christi yours was wrong and SRMD expected you would be stopped in some way—all the Theorici symbols were more or less wrong. I am just telling you as V. told me. She distinctly said that no one had repeated things about us all to them. She and SRMD had got astrally all this last year the feelings we had against them and the things that were said about SRMD's drink, lunacy etc., but they had no material proof of it till they came over the other day.

V. insisted . . . that the chief and important reason of your expulsion was that you had grown to put so much personality into all your magical working that it perverted all you did . . . so that the [Secret] Chiefs would not let you have the very serious Theoricus work that is coming while your magic was tainted as it were.

V. told me that when you suggested the money business [i.e. financial support for Mathers] SRMD told you what he was doing and should do political work under the Chiefs and should also be mixed up with war and military matters—all the things you hated, and that you had said need make no difference to money matters.

Of those who refused to sign the Petition only one, Allan Bennett, was openly critical of Annie Horniman in the role of V.H. Soror Fortiter et Recte.

I cannot agree with the remarks in the Petition as to the energy, the self-sacrifice, or the devotion to the Order of our late Soror. On the one occasion when I attended her classes I was beyond all measure shocked at the casual and flippant treatment of the Spirit Vision there set forth. Either this is true and sacred, or it is untrue and profane. And if the former, it should be treated in a very different way to what F. and her class did. And being a woman of wealth and leisure, I should have deemed it possible for her to have done far *more* for the Order than she did. Circumstances alter cases; and I can see no great self-sacrifice involved in an evening or two a week for a woman who has practically nothing in the world to do . . . Did I think that sentence unfair for the offence (and therein should I impute unfairness to the Chief?) I might set aside the other matters and sign your petition. But how can I suppose that the Chief has not given the matter *due* judgment? Aye, due judgment and due time also: for I remember the threatening of wrath to come announced

publicly at the last C[orpus] C[hristi ceremony]. As it is written—
'shall I impute injustice unto God?'

The attitude of some others who were unwilling to co-operate was governed by their view that Mathers's authority should not and could not be challenged. Both J. W. Brodie-Innes ('Sub Spe') and his wife ('Sub hoc signo vinces'), who wrote from 15 Royal Circus, Edinburgh, were of this opinion.

... in my view it would certainly be an unwarrantable presumption on my part to interfere with the jurisdiction of my superiors (J. W. Brodie-Innes).

I have to consider first and foremost my allegiance to him [Mathers]. *Personally* I feel that if any petition of mine could reverse any decision of his, it would decidedly derogate from his position as Supreme Ruler in the Order... From my point of view 'The King can do no wrong'—and in the Order the G.H. Chief is King, and to his authority and judgment in matters concerning the Order I bow absolutely (Mrs Brodie-Innes).

Mrs Kennedy ('Volo') was beginning to tire of Mathers.

I feel it is impossible to use the same terms in subscribing myself, but that will pass unnoticed, I dare say, as the petition is *humble* enough even for S.R.M.D. [Mathers]. I was under the threat of the same treatment as Fortiter a little while ago and have never heard that my 'submission' was accepted by our autocrat. I am afraid my 'Devotion' is a thing of the past, and not easy to recall as regards the G.H. Chief.

Madame Juliette de Steiger ('Alta Peto'), formerly a follower of Anna Kingsford and now a member of the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh, signed the Petition but found it all very difficult to understand.

There is so much 'caution' about in the air, I begin to feel in chains... I scarcely dared ask any questions but I'd like to know if there are any good grounds given as to what were her *acts* of insubordination? She may have been obeying her Higher Self, rather than the Chief who wished to dominate the Higher Self. If so I may be sometimes in the danger of being expelled for insubordination.

ISIS-URANIA TEMPLE

Signatories

Julian Baker ('Causa Scientiae')
Miss Anna Blackwell ('Esse Quam Videri')
John W. Brettle ('Luci')
Mrs Henry Pullen Burry ('Urge Semper Igitur')¹
Florence Farr ('Sapientia Sapienti Dono Date')
Mrs Mary Felkin, wife of Dr R. W. Felkin ('Per Aspera Ad
Astra')
Mrs Reena Fulham-Hughes ('Silentio')
Mrs Jean Gillison ('Cogito Ergo Sum')
Mary Haweis ('Cede Deo')
Mrs Harietta Dorothea Hunter ('Deo Date')
F. J. Johnson ('Ora Et Labora')
Mrs Florence Kennedy ('Volo')
Mrs Cecilia Macrae ('Vincit Qui Se Vincit')
George Minson ('Equanimitur')
H. C. Morris ('Cavendo Tutus')
Mrs Henrietta Paget ('Dum Spiro Spero')
George Pollexfen ('Festina Lente')
Mrs Helen Rand ('Vigilate')
Charles Rosher ('Aequo Animo')
Francis Wright ('Mens Conscia Recte')

Refused to sign

Allan Bennett ('Iehi Aour')
John Hugh Elliott ('Nobis Est Victoria')
Miss Ada Waters ('Recta Pete')

On the fence

Dr Robert William Felkin ('Finem Respice')

HORUS TEMPLE, BRADFORD

Signatories

Miss Fanny Clayton ('Orare')
J. K. Gardner ('Valet Anchora Virtus')
T. Wilson ('Sub Rosa')

¹ Her husband, Dr Henry Pullen Burry ('Anima Pura Sit'), Cancellarius of Isis-Urania Temple, did not see the Petition when it arrived as he had gone to Paris to see Mathers, probably to obtain instructions.

AMEN-RA TEMPLE, EDINBURGH

Signatories

Mrs Agnes Cathcart ('Veritas Vincit')

Mrs Emily Drummond ('In Deo Confido')

Miss Mary Drummond ('Fideliter' 4 = 7°)

William Sutherland Hunter ('In Cornu Salutem Spero')

Miss Kate R. Moffat ('Servio Liberaliter')¹

Madame Juliet de Steiger ('Alta Peto')

Refused to sign

Dr Andrew P. Aitken ('Judico Lente')²

Mrs Georgina Aitken ('Sola Cruce Salus')

J. W. Brodie-Innes ('Sub Spe')

Mrs F. A. Brodie-Innes ('Sub Hoc Signo Vincas')

Andrew Cattanaich ('Esto Sol Testis')

Dr George Dickson ('Fortes Fortuna Juvat')

Annie Horniman was destined to remain in exile for the next three years. Whether it was at the behest of Mathers or the Secret Chiefs above him is immaterial. However, further vexatious events were in store during 1897 for the Very Honoured Fratres and Sorores of the Second Order in London, and not least for Dr William Wynn Westcott and his friend Frederick Leigh Gardner. It was if the Secret Chiefs had an ample supply of jokers in their magical pack.

¹ According to a letter from W. S. Hunter to F. L. Gardner (26 May 1903), she was once 'hand in glove with Sub Spe [Brodie-Innes] and had probably been hypnotised, as Mrs Aitken [see above] suggests, to do what he suggests to her'.

² Lecturer in Chemistry in the Faculty of Medicine, University of Edinburgh, and later held other academic appointments including the Chair for Chemistry and Toxicology at the Edinburgh Veterinary College. He became a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

* * *

*The Magical Progress of
Frederick Leigh Gardner*

F. L. Gardner ('De Profundis Ad Lucem') was a relatively unimportant member of the Second Order when, at the age of thirty-nine, he involved himself in Mathers's affairs at the end of 1896. Whereas Annie Horniman quietly wrote cheques for year after year with no expectation of any particular personal advantage, Gardner's motives for helping the Chief were not wholly altruistic. For his own good reasons he had decided to finance the publication of Mathers's projected 'Abra-Melin' book. Thus he not only wanted his money back as soon as possible, but also hoped for a substantial profit. Hence when neither was forthcoming he soon became impatient. Indeed, only a few months passed before he and Mathers were at loggerheads. By comparison with Mathers he was a dull dog. Aggressive and tactless, he was as touchy and quick to take offence as the Chief himself. Nevertheless, Annie Horniman liked him and he had an enduring friendship with Westcott, but then Frater Sapere Aude was a tolerant and fraternal man.

In the Private Collection there are few documents for the period following Annie Horniman's expulsion in December 1896 up to the end of 1899. It is fortunate, therefore, that Gardner's G.D. correspondence has survived in Mr Gerald Yorke's collection, because these letters continue the 'story'. Gardner's G.D. experiences and relationships are of particular interest because here we have a well-documented case-history of membership of a Magical Order.

Frederick Leigh Gardner was born on 31 March 1857 and became a member of the Stock Exchange in 1886 at the age of twenty-nine. During the years 1894-1900, when he was an active member of the G.D., he ran a small stockbroking firm at 4 Copthall Chambers, close to the Stock Exchange.

Gardner was one of many who joined the Theosophical Society when Madame Blavatsky was first in London in 1884. He preserved two sheets of paper dated 29 September 1884 with an automatic script message scribbled in an unidentified handwriting. It begins: 'Mr

Gardner's Mahatma is Koot Hoomi—and we wish him to know it. We have not told you this before. If Mr Gardner will now use the Mahatma's own name, he will strengthen the rapport, but he must not tell any one.' Koot Hoomi was one of Madame Blavatsky's invisible Mahatmas or 'spirit guides'.

His parents were both spiritualists and he made a record of seances held at their home in 1878–9 when a certain Joseph was the medium. On one occasion 'F.L.G. was slightly controlled by Silver Star and tried all he could to expel the influence by making passes over the medium'.

He married in c. 1885. There is a letter dated 28 June 1886 from his friend Arthur W. Cobbold, a foreman in the Operative [i.e. manufacturing] Department of the Royal Mint and a fellow member of the Theosophical Society, in which he congratulated Gardner on the birth of a son. 'I trust the young Theosophist and Mrs Gardner continue to progress favourably. May I cast the little one's horoscope?' he asked.

By 1889 Gardner was deeply interested in alchemy and had begun to collect alchemical books. It was then that he began to correspond with the Rev. W. A. Ayton. The first of his many letters to Gardner was written on 14 March 1889.

'I am absolutely harassed by work etc,' he wrote, 'preparatory to going to London next week, partly on Occult matters and partly on private business . . . I shall be so occupied next week that I am not sure we can get to No. 17.'

The 'Occult business' was probably the G.D.'s spring Equinox meeting. Madame Blavatsky was living at 17 Lansdowne Road in the Notting Hill district. Gardner was the honorary secretary of her Blavatsky Lodge in January 1890 so would have known her personally.

About a month later he wrote again to Gardner, who had been asking for alchemical information, and hinted that he should join the G.D.

It seems to me that as you do not know these first principles [i.e. of alchemy], you would do well to belong to the so-called 'Rosicrucian Society of England'. In it all the first principles are taught in successive degrees. It is all from the Holy Qabalah. There is an examination for every degree, which is a very good discipline. They teach what the T[heosophical] S[ociety] never has done and never will, and they have most important MSS. upon that great subject, the Taro. This would enable Mrs. Gardner to exercise her powers of clairvoyance in a legitimate

way without danger, for the Taro prevents the imagination from wandering.¹

If you think of joining it, the address for *all* Members and others is: G.D. Secretary, c/o Sanitary Wood Wool Co., 11 Hatton Garden, EC2. Ladies are admitted. Mrs. Ayton and I went through an examination this last time in London, Mrs. A. passing without making one mistake. Upon request an MS. is sent to you to copy, in which subject you have to be examined. Mrs. A. learned the Hebrew letters so as to write them within the last year. We are well satisfied with it. Use my name if you do apply.

Gardner did not join the G.D. until 1894. In the meantime there was a regular exchange of letters with Ayton, who often had interesting information to impart. At the end of 1892 Ayton once again proposed that Gardner should join the G.D. this time to learn how to expel Elementals which, in Ayton's opinion, were dangerous creatures.

28 December 1892. You say Elementals help you to [find] books. It is not Elementals who help us to books, but much higher powers. Unless you have attained to spiritual Adeptship so as to be able to *command*, to accept the services of Elementals is most dangerous, as they are sure to turn the tables on you, sooner or later, and you come to great grief. I fancy you, at one time, did too much of Spiritualism. Just as I took leave of your good wife, a something in the expression of her face struck me, upon which I have since reflected that probably she is vampired by an Elemental. You told me she was a Medium. Now, all Mediums are liable to be preyed upon by Elementals. I have known some dismal cases of it. You cannot be too careful in these matters.

30 December 1892. I am glad you see what I perceived. The question is how to expel the foe [i.e. an Elemental]. The Pentagram used with the proper invocations etc., according to the rules of the Quabalah, is potent to expel these creatures. They also say that the burning of fir cones drives them away, but I

¹ On 4 February 1895 Gardner scribbled a brief summary of some remarks made by his wife when in trance: '... as I found she had not come round to be normally conscious I made the dismissing Pentagram ... and then commenced the Lesser Ritual of the Pent. when that apparently brought her round.' By that time he had learned some simple magical procedures in the G.D. It is difficult to understand why Ayton supposed that the use of the Tarot cards for divination would prevent the imagination from wandering.

have never tried it. Read about the Pentagram and Hexagram in Eliphas Lévi. Do you know any Jew Qabalist who would do it for you?

It is a pity that you do not belong to our Rosicrucian Society, in which all these things are taught. The T.S. teaches very high things, but omits the practical details. In this, our Order is ancillary to the T.S. However, there are several stiff examinations before you could get to this practical expelling of Elementals, which would take months, if you want immediate help for this.

The problem of the Elementals cannot have been urgent, because Gardner did not sign his G.D. Pledge Form until almost a year later. He received the document from Percy Bullock, Cancellarius of the Isis-Urania Temple, who wrote to him on the letterheading of Messrs Slaughter & May, Solicitors, on 14 November 1893: 'I send you the enclosed form which I ask you to treat as entirely private and confidential and return to me signed or unsigned, as the case may be, within one week from today.' Gardner signed the document and Westcott acknowledged its receipt on 1 December:

I have received your Pledge Form, with comments of the Rulers of the G.D. They are rather hostile to the *motto* you have chosen, regarding it as a very materialistic expression of feeling.¹ There is a suggestion that you may be accepted in three months if still desirous. I may say that this delay is not personal in your case, but is now required of all members of the E[soteric] S[ection—i.e. of the Theosophical Society], and is due to the action of more than one member of the E.S. who has craved for admission, received A[nnie] B[esant]'s permission to join, did join, and yet soon afterwards was prompted to resign.

It is not convenient to have many people who join and resign, so our rules have decided to give candidates 3 months to decide on withdrawal, before admission. I should add that these members who so hastily retired, did not do so from dissatisfaction with the Order, or its tenets, or its members, but only, as they explained, at the prompting of the E.S. Master.

We cannot really believe it was really the Master's action—because he had—by his agent A[nnie] B[esant]—approved of

¹ The Rulers of the G.D. were Mathers and himself, but Gardner was supposed to infer that they were remote and secret persons. The nature of their comments was revealed to Gardner some years later. See p. 185.

No.	Name.	Motto.	Date.
1.	Wm. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
2.	William Woodman	Superior	
3.	Wm. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	Dead
4.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
5.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
6.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
7.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
8.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
9.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
10.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
11.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
12.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
13.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
14.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
15.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
16.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
17.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
18.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
19.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
20.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
21.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
22.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
23.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
24.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
25.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
26.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
27.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
28.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
29.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
30.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
31.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
32.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
33.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
34.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
35.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
36.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
37.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
38.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
39.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
40.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
41.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
42.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
43.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
44.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
45.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
46.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
47.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
48.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
49.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
50.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
51.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
52.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
53.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
54.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
55.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
56.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
57.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
58.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
59.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
60.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
61.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
62.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
63.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
64.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
65.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
66.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
67.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
68.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
69.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
70.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
71.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
72.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
73.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
74.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
75.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
76.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
77.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
78.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
79.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
80.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
81.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
82.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
83.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
84.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
85.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
86.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
87.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
88.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
89.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
90.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
91.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
92.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
93.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
94.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
95.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
96.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
97.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
98.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
99.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	
100.	W. Woodman	Magnum Prodest	

Plate V (a) The entries for MacGregor Mathers, Dr Westcott, Dr Woodman and Fräulein Sprengel on the Isis-Urania Temple's parchment membership roll (Private Collection)

(b) The signatures of Annie Horniman and W. B. Yeats on the same document

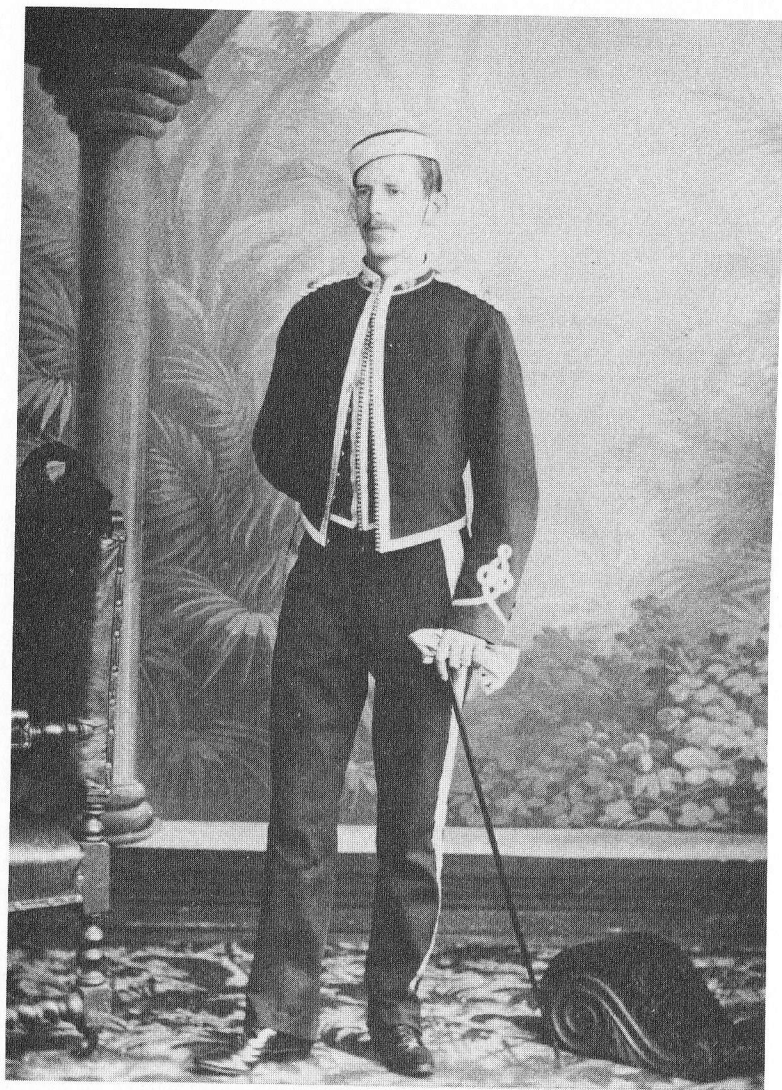


Plate VI S. L. MacGregor Mathers in the uniform of an artillery lieutenant, c. 1882 (*Private Collection*)



Plate VII (b) Allan Bennett (from a photograph by Alvin Langdon Coburn, c. 1898-9, loaned by the Astrological Association)



Plate VII (a) Florence Farr in c. 1895
(*Mrs Josephine Johnson Collection, U.S.A.*)

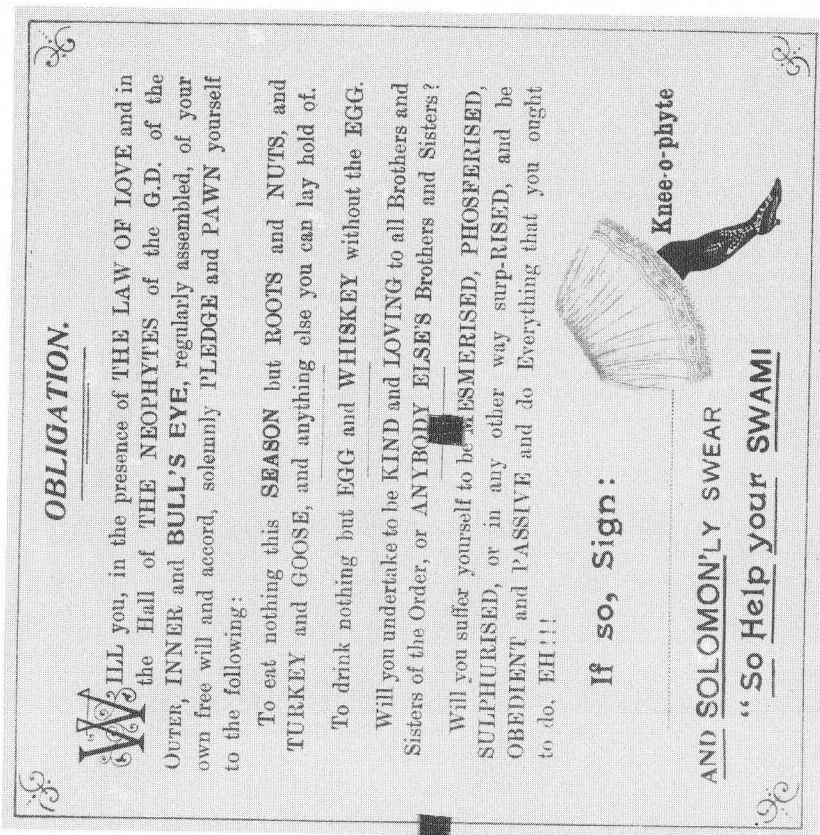
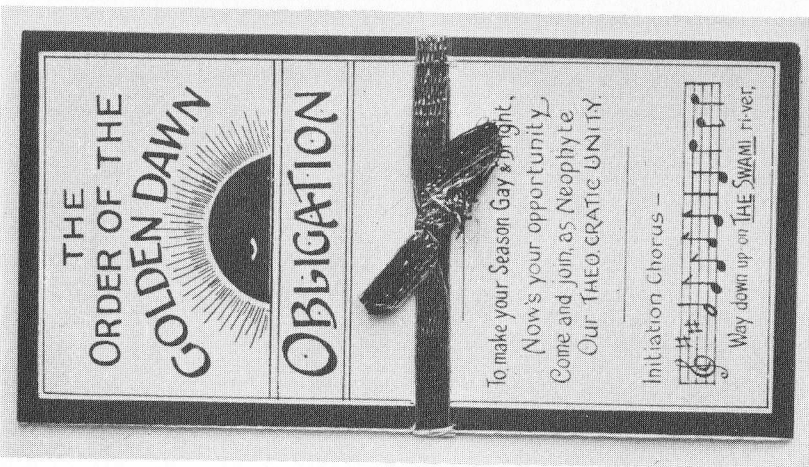


Plate VIII Greetings card mocking the Golden Dawn, published after the Horos trial, 1901-2 (Private Collection)

their joining, so we suppose they were under some erroneous impression of the Master's wishes.

My inference, from the sense of Westcott's letter, is that the E.S. Master was a 'Mahatma' and not an ordinary human being.

Gardner, Westcott and Bullock were not, as might be supposed, strangers. They were already well acquainted since they were the founder members of the Ananda Lodge in the Esoteric Section of the T.S. Westcott was President and Bullock its Honorary Secretary. Apart from Gardner the only other founder member was John M. Watkins, who was soon to commence his later renowned book-selling and publishing business. The Ananda Lodge received its Warrant on 19 October 1893 and held its first meeting exactly a month later. It was disbanded in November 1895. Hence it was probably Westcott or Bullock, rather than Ayton, who brought Gardner into the G.D.

Annie Horniman, the Sub-Praemonstratrix of the Isis-Urania Temple, was the next to communicate with him. She wrote on 28 February 1894 to tell him that he had been accepted as a suitable candidate: 'At first all instruction given to you will be purely intellectual so as to make a firm foundation for spiritual knowledge. That will not begin until you have proved yourself fit to receive it . . . You will be informed of the date when you can be received amongst us later on.'

Gardner's initiation took place on 20 March 1894 and on 3 April Ayton wrote to congratulate him:

Care Frater,

So we of the G.D. address one another, and sign by our motto or part of it. I beg to congratulate you that you have become one of us. There are many advantages, which it is as well not to put on paper . . . You do not say that your good wife is also a member of the G.D. Some of our Lady Members are the most advanced. One of Jewish extraction [i.e. Mina Mathers] is, I think, the most advanced of all. It is a thing to be worked together, husband and wife especially.

Another letter from Westcott, dated 5 July 1894, reads: 'I expect there will be a 1 = 10, 2 = 9, 3 = 8 Isis Meeting on Friday in next week. 3.30 to 7.30.' The implication is that the rituals for these three grades would be successively performed during the course of four hours. One has only to read the texts of these rituals in Dr Israel

Regardie's *The Golden Dawn* to realise that a strenuous afternoon and evening lay ahead for the senior officers of the Isis-Urania Temple.

Gardner encountered yet another friend when he joined the Order. He was Allan Bennett, aged 21 and fifteen years his junior, whose magical abilities were to fascinate Aleister Crowley some years later. Bennett, who was also soon to become a member of the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society, found his way to the Order in February 1894 and took the motto 'Voco'. He changed it to 'Iehi Aour' (Hebrew for 'Let there be light') when he entered the R.R. et A.C. in May 1895.

Bennett suffered from chronic ill-health. According to Aleister Crowley, who saw much of him during 1899:¹

Allan Bennett . . . suffered acutely from spasmodic asthma. His cycle of life was to take opium for about a month, when the effect wore off, so that he had to inject morphine. After a month of this he switched to cocaine, which he took until he began to 'see things' and was then reduced to chloroform.

Bennett referred to his health in a brief note to Gardner written on 3 November 1893, shortly before his 21st birthday on 8 December.

I have been ill—had an attack of apoplexy, which laid the body up . . . I wish you could lend me a set of astrological Ephemerides including years 1872, 1880 and 1884, as I want to direct back and find my exact time of birth. If my present horoscope is true, the one you made for me, my apoplexy came at the precise moment when Saturn transited the square of my Ascendant—a most evil aspect!

A horoscope cast by Alvin Langdon Coburn proposes 7.23 a.m. as the birth time.²

Crowley mentioned that Bennett's 'knowledge of science, especially electricity, was vast, accurate and profound'. There are references to electrical and other scientific apparatus in some of his letters to Gardner, who was financing some experiments. In 1894 he was

¹ *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, p. 180.

² Allan Bennett was born in London on 8 December 1872. The birth date has hitherto remained unknown. Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882–1966), later famous for his photographic portraits, made the picture reproduced as Plate VII(b) when he himself was still a very young man. He cast Bennett's horoscope and attached it to his own copy of the print. He bequeathed this and other photographs with their related horoscopes to the Astrological Association.

employed by Dr Bernard Dyer, Analytical and Consulting Chemist, of 17 Great Tower Street, London, E.C. Two other G.D. members were analytical chemists, namely Julian Baker and George Cecil Jones.¹

In a letter written on Dr Dyer's notepaper dated 'Thursday 1894' Bennett referred to Gardner's plan for him to join a scientific expedition to an unspecified place in Africa:

I'm sorry, rather, I'm not going, but am very glad in some ways—occultly. It would not have been nice to spend the spring, my best time occultly speaking, money-grubbing out there. And it would have kept me back from admission to the E[soteric] S[ection] till I come back and other occult work.

His occult work appears to have included experiments with hallucinogenic plants. In another undated letter to Gardner, scribbled on the back of a sheet of Dr Dyer's paper, Bennett referred to a shrub called *Dictamnus Fraxinella Alba*. 'There is also a red variety, which would not be clairvoyant making,' he observed.

If there be any truth in the following anecdote—the source is Aleister Crowley—in his youth Bennett was better suited to become one of Mathers's more intimate disciples than to play the Magician among the innocent Theosophists:²

He used to carry a 'lustre'—a long glass prism with a neck and a pointed knob such as adorned old-fashioned chandeliers. He used this as a wand. One day, a party of Theosophists were chatting sceptically about the power of the blasting 'rod'. Allan promptly produced his and blasted one of them. It took fourteen hours to restore the incredulous individual to the use of his mind and his muscles.

Gardner had taken all the First Order grades by July 1894, when Westcott wrote to inform him that 'the Chiefs have instructed me to invite you to proceed to the Second Order by Examination. They think it would be better for your progress to choose a more mystical motto.' Hitherto Gardner's motto had been 'Crede Experto' but in the Second Order, which he joined on 2 April 1895, he was *Frater De Profundis ad Lucem*.³

¹ Julian Baker ('Causa Scientiae'): Neophyte in Isis-Urania June 1894, admitted to Second Order 10 March 1896; G. C. Jones, Neophyte in Isis-Urania July 1895, Second Order January 1897.

² *Confessions*, op. cit., p. 180.

³ Gardner's original choice of a motto had already been criticised by the 'Chiefs' (see p. 148).

A few months after Gardner joined the G.D. in the Outer the ebullient Dr Berridge contributed an article on 'The Rosicrucian Mystery from the Standpoint of a Rosicrucian' to the September 1894 issue of A. E. Waite's new monthly periodical *The Unknown World*. It was signed 'Resurgam, Fra. R.R. et A.C.'. By this time Gardner would have encountered Frater Resurgam as Sub-Imperator of the Isis-Urania Temple, and assuming that he read the article, one wonders what he made of its final paragraph. Berridge-Resurgam hinted that a secret Rosicrucian Order existed in Great Britain, but was careful not to identify it.

It may be asked how it is that the [Order's] secrets have not been revealed, either by accident or treachery. As to the first hypothesis, I have only heard of some of the contents of two MSS. escaping from the Order; one copy is so elementary as to be practically useless, and moreover is full of errors; the other has been so perverted as to be simply dangerous to the user. Doubtless the Higher Chiefs take means for removing any important MSS. from those they see about to be incapacitated by illness or death. As for treachery, it is not likely that any very important secrets would be given to a member until his fidelity was thoroughly assured, and every initiate of an Occult Order knows that his wilful perjury would be followed by unpleasant consequences—possibly a Coroner's inquest, and a verdict of 'Death by Syncope'.

Everyone in the G.D. in the Outer knew that Westcott was a Coroner. There may well have been leakages of information, hence the publication of this minatory announcement, which linked death by syncope with a Coroner's inquest. Indeed, it is possible that Dr Berridge actually believed in the possibility of such drastic reprisals.

In April 1895 Gardner proposed a Mrs Maitinsky, of 52 Bath Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, for membership of the G.D. She lived in the same neighbourhood as himself and was a member of the Theosophical Society.¹ Westcott had doubts about her and wrote to Gardner on 11 April 1895 to say that her case had been considered, but '... unless she was a very decidedly good candidate, we should not

¹ The Bedford Park and Chiswick contingent was growing. Gardner lived at 37 Barrowgate Road, Chiswick during the early 1890s and then moved to 14 Marlborough Gardens. Mr and Mrs E. A. Hunter were at 45 Stile Hall Gardens, Chiswick, and W. F. Kirby's home was in South Court Road. By 1900 Percy Bullock and his wife were at 69 Thornton Avenue, Bedford Park.

like to admit her—if approved—against her husband's wish.¹ Such admissions are a chronic state of worry to the Chiefs here in England and are sources of danger to us all. You might put this point to her.'

However, Mrs Maitinski ('Abest Timor') was admitted in May 1895 and with unhappy results. She reached the Second Order in October 1896, but the time soon came when her expulsion was imminent and she wrote three pathetic undated letters to Gardner. An extract from the first one follows:

I received this letter today from A[nima] P[ura] S[it]—Dr Henry Pullen Burry, who was Cancellarius of Isis-Urania Temple]. Is it the *usual* thing to ask of a member at this juncture [i.e. a list of all the Order documents in her possession]? Or is it that they intend to expel me, or that they know that I shall not live much longer? . . . If it is my fate to be stopped I shall learn in time to bow to it as I have always done to everything that has happened to me however hard it was at first, and I should go in strongly for the T[heosophical] S[ociety] as certainly the next best thing I know.

Her third letter was written after her expulsion:

I have had rather a shock through someone not a Theosophist or member of the Order telling my fortune with ordinary playing cards [i.e. not the Tarot], but as he is reputed very clever at it and he has told me some shocking things are going to happen to me and my family within 6 months, I would like you if you will and are able to do so to tell out the Tarot cards and let me know what you see . . . If you will do this for your Soror and former pupil she will think it very kind of you . . .

Soror Abest Timor was banished to the wilderness and was heard of no more.

Two undated letters from Florence Farr to Gardner may belong to this period, i.e. 1895–6. He was already in the Second Order since she addressed him by his new motto 'De Profundis Ad Lucem'. The first letter is of interest since it shows that she expected those who actively participated in the rituals to know their 'lines' by heart. The second letter indicates that members of the Second Order took part in Outer Order rituals.

If you propose to continue the studies of the rituals, I should be

¹ In September 1893 the candidacy of Count Bubna was being held in abeyance 'pending wife's decision'. (Erasures List, referred to on p. 73.)

glad if you would learn by heart the part of the Kerux [nominally a $2^\circ = 9^\circ$ function] in the Ritual of the 32nd path of the [word illegible] so as to be able to take part in it without the aid of a book [sc. manuscript] until the time when the lights are turned up. I am also writing to other members so that we shall have 2 officers at least ready for each part of this important ritual.

Will you go early on the Equinox day and take Hierews [nominally a $4^\circ = 7^\circ$ function] in the $3^\circ = 8^\circ$ and $1^\circ = 10^\circ$, appointing if possible a member of the Ritual Class to take Kerux in $1^\circ = 10^\circ$. I have written to [Julian] Baker to take Hegemon [a $3^\circ = 8^\circ$ role]. Everyone will be there for the $0^\circ = 0^\circ$ and no one for any other ceremony as far as I can make out. If you can't please write straight away and ask [Charles] Rosher to do Hierews in $3^\circ = 8^\circ$.¹

Mathers and his wife were in London in June 1895 for the annual Corpus Christi ceremony. Gardner, now aware that Mathers, as Duce Deo Comite Ferro, was Chief of the Second Order, invited them to his home. Mrs Mathers replied from 62 Oakley Square, the headquarters of the R.R. et A.C., to the effect that they were both 'so much occupied with Order work' that a visit to Chiswick would be impossible. Gardner, however, was soon to be admitted to the inner circle and visited Mathers in Paris in the autumn. This was the beginning of a complicated and never very satisfactory relationship. The text of the first letter that Gardner received from Mathers follows:

87 Rue Mozart, Auteuil, Paris
11 September 1895

C. et V.H. Frater 'De Profundis',

Immediately on receipt of your note, I saw Fra. Nisbet, and he will be only too pleased to put you up while here, and it will not take you longer to reach the centre of Paris from

¹ Charles Rosher ('Aequo Animo') joined the G.D. in the Outer in May 1894 and was admitted to the Second Order on 26 September 1895. Aleister Crowley became acquainted with him some years later. He described him as '... a widely travelled Jack-of-all-trades. He had invented a patent water-closet and had been court painter to the Sultan of Morocco. He wrote some of the worst poetry I have ever read. He was a jolly-all-round sportsman with an excellent heart and the cheery courage which comes from knocking about the world, and being knocked about by it. If his talents had been less varied, he might have made a success of almost anything.' (*The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, ed. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, p. 179.)

Courbevoie than it would be from here.¹ We have L.O. [Percy Bullock] and Shemeber [Mrs Bullock] as well as Fortiter [Annie Horniman] staying with us, or else we could have put you up ourselves. We hope that you will spend Sunday with us, and have your meals here, and that we will see as much as possible of you during your stay.

Many thanks for Denon, which will be of great use to me.²

I will only remind you that though I myself smoke not, Fortiter, L.O. and Shem do, that French cigarettes are vile; so if you could safely smuggle a few English ones with you, I expect they would be appreciated.

P.S. Vestigia has just told me that Nisbet has asked you to bring some cigarettes, so don't try to bring too many in case of being caught by the Douane.

Gardner seems to have postponed his trip to Paris, because Mathers wrote again on 17 October 1895:

We shall be only too pleased to see you, and put you up somehow. Vigilante [Mrs Rand] is with us. Please send a line to say when to expect you. We shall be delighted to put up and board Iehi Aour [Allan Bennett]; we both like him so much.

There are undated letters from Mrs Rand to Gardner inviting him and his wife to ride from Chiswick to Esher on their bicycles for Sunday luncheon. One of them includes the following fascinating passage: 'Semper (Lady Colville) has been telling me of a Mexican mummy whose astral [body] can make a *physical* noise. That would be interesting to investigate, would it not?'³

It was Mrs Rand, too, who wrote to Gardner to ask if he could find some employment for a Mr Ritchie and his sister who 'gave up their work in America and came over here entirely to join the G.D. . . . They are people one does want to help because they are really in earnest about occult work.'

At the time when Mathers invited Gardner to Paris the latter

¹ Robert Nisbet, $0^\circ = 0^\circ$ in Horus Temple, Bradford, in January 1892 and now a member of Mathers's Ahathoor Temple in Paris.

² Probably a copy of Dominique-Vivant Denon, *Voyages dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, 3 vols, London, 1807. Denon was Napoleon's official war artist during the Egyptian campaign and his illustrations of Egyptian antiquities would have been of particular interest to Mathers.

³ Lady Colville was the wife of Colonel Sir Henry Colville (b. 1852), Grenadier Guards, of 24 Chapel Street, Belgrave Square and Lullington Hall, Burton-on-Trent. Both the Colvilles reached the Second Order. As far as the G.D. was concerned they represented the *haute volée*.

had already been corresponding with J. M. Durand, of 156 Avenue de Suffren, a member of Mathers's Ahathoor Temple. On 30 September 1895 he wrote to Gardner about some astrological problems.¹ He wanted Gardner's opinion of the horoscope of a lady who was born at Paris on 7 September 1865 at 10.15 a.m. and there was also the problem of his grandfather's will and possible litigation.

I send you also a horary figure I have done for myself as it seems rather an awkward figure and as I am very prejudiced in the matter I am at a loss what judgment to make. Could you kindly show it to Soror Vigilante [Mrs Rand] or some other of our Fratres or Sorores who are good at astrology? Our Chief Frater S.R.M.D. [Mathers] has looked at so many figures for me I do not like troubling him with another.

Durand had cast a horoscope for the exact moment when the question about his grandfather's will presented itself to him, but the answer was obscure. Gardner duly sent his own interpretation to Durand, who wrote to thank him on 28 October 1895. 'The figure you judged for me was right, I think,' he observed. 'V.H. Soror Vestigia [Mrs Mathers] did a Tarot for me and the result of the lawsuit showed a victory for me, but rather an empty one.'

The writer was a young American called James Durand. He and his wife Theodosia—they were both artists—had met in Paris and when Max Dauthendey (1867–1918), then an almost unknown German author, met them at a boarding house in Upper Woburn Place in April 1895 they had recently married in London. Dauthendey recalled them in his autobiographical *Gedankengut aus meinen Wanderjahren*, 1913.²

They spoke about the G.D. but did not mention it by name. Dauthendey was tempted to apply for admission to the Order but they put him off on the grounds that he was too sceptical. He met them again in Paris early in 1896 and that summer they introduced him to Mathers and Vestigia who, he remembered, received an enormous number of visitors every Sunday. Dauthendey supposed that Mathers was an Egyptologist by profession.

¹ Gardner was greatly interested in astrology. Later he acquired an extensive knowledge of its literature. See his *A Catalogue Raisonné of Works on the Occult Sciences*, vol. ii, *Astrological Books*, privately printed, 1911.

² I am obliged to Miss Ithell Colquhoun for drawing my attention to this source. See pp. 561–4, 648, 664 in the 1925 edition (Collected Works, vol. i); see also H. G. Wendt, *Max Dauthendey*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 24n., 38.

On 19 October 1896 Mathers offered Gardner the first of a number of investment tips. The Chief made it appear as if he had access to exclusive inside information.

Private

Care et V.H. Frater D.P.a.L.,

Just a line of warning, which I could not send you sooner. Of course it *may* not be of service to you.

Mind what you are at with any *French* financial business during the next few days. I hear Rothschild is putting the screw on the leading French bankers and that 3 of the first houses in Paris are going; it is over the Ephrussi [?] business (his son-in-law I mean). I believe the Credit Lyonnais will also suffer. Panics on the Bourse probable.

I hope that this will not come too late. Keep it dark.

Yours in haste and fraternally,
S.R.M.D.

Almost without exception Mathers's letters to Gardner ended 'Yours in haste'.

However, Frater de Profundis Ad Lucem's magical education was just as important as Mr Frederick Leigh Gardner's stock exchange operations. Soon after 10 November 1896 he learned from Mathers that his Talisman and Flashing Tablets for the E.II examination for advancement to the Theoricus Adeptus Minor 5° = 6° grade had been 'badly consecrated'. What puzzled me was how Mathers knew that this Talisman was unsatisfactory. Mr Gerald Yorke supplied the answer: 'Mathers or Vestigia probably placed it against his or her forehead and said: "This isn't any good!";' he suggested.

A curtain lecture followed this melancholy news in Mathers's letter to Gardner of 10 November 1896:

Progress does not mean *merely* passing exams. I say to you as I have repeatedly said to others, the Magical knowledge and Practical instruction in the Zelator Adeptus Minor Grade is *alone* enough to give you actual Magical Powers if you can *comprehend* it, as well as *learn* it.

A week later Mathers was asking: 'Can you tell me anything about Kleinfonteins in South Africa; whether you think they will soon rise, or definitely smash?'

Gardner reconsecrated the Talisman and sent it to Mathers. It

was either lost in the post or Mathers mislaid it. The Chief wrote to him again on 18 November:

You say you are *certain* you have sent it in. If you like to send me a brief and careful description of what you *believe* takes place in a consecration . . . and *how* the forces invoked act with regard to the Pentacle or Symbol consecrated, and what the Pentacle or Symbol really represents, I shall know that you have passed Examination E.II.

A talisman made by Gardner for the planet Mercury survives in Mr Gerald Yorke's collection. It consists of a circular piece of cardboard about three inches in diameter and hand-coloured in yellow and blue.

Mathers's next letter to Gardner was written on 3 December 1896, the day on which he wrote to Annie Horniman to tell her that he had expelled her from the Order.

I will look into the matter of your wife's health and let you know in a day or two. Please give me a detailed list of her symptoms if you can.¹ I have been waiting until I had rather less pressure on me; as besides all my other hindrances I have a book for Redway, half finished, which he has promised to buy the copyright of. It is a work on Magic from a very ancient and almost unknown MS. in one of the libraries here.

The half-finished book was his translation from the French of *The Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*. Gardner was soon to become financially involved in this ill-fated undertaking. It not only bedevilled his relationship with Mathers but, equally unsatisfactory, proved to be the reverse of profitable.

¹ Mathers presumably intended to investigate Mrs Gardner's horoscope.

* * *

Complications Galore

It is likely that Mathers decided to make an English translation of a manuscript that he had found at the Arsenal Library during the summer of 1896, probably soon after the receipt of Annie Horniman's final remittance in the middle of July. His financial prospects were uncertain and he hoped that the Abra-Melin book would bring in at least a little money.¹

In the Introduction to his translation Mathers mentioned that a deceased occultist, who may have been Kenneth Mackenzie, had told him about the manuscript many years earlier, also that his friend Jules Bois had recently drawn his attention to it.²

Furthermore, Mathers stated that both Eliphas Lévi and Bulwer-Lytton had been familiar with the manuscript and that the latter had based parts of his novels *Zanoni*, 1842, and *A Strange Story*, on it: 'It would also be especially such experiments as those described at length in the Third Book, which the author of the "Strange Story" had in view when he makes Sir Philip Derval in the MS. history of his life speak of certain books describing occult experiments, some of which he had tried and to his surprise found succeed,' Mathers explained.

Apart from any financial considerations, Mathers supposed that the Abra-Melin book represented a magical treatise of major importance. He was in touch with George Redway, who had published his previous books during the late 1880s, in September 1896. He had asked for fifty pounds for the outright sale of the copyright and now indignantly refused Redway's counter-offer.

¹ The French title of the manuscript (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 2351) is 'La sacrée magie que Dieu donna à Moïse Aaron David Salomon, et à d'autres saints patriarches et prophètes, qui enseigne la vraie sagesse divine, laissée par Abraham à Lamech son fils, traduite de l'hébreu. 1458.' It is most unlikely that the MS. has a Jewish provenance. The French text may have been written towards the end of the seventeenth century.

² Jules Bois was a Parisian journalist who wrote a number of lively books about contemporary French occultists and sects, e.g. *Le satanisme et la magie*, 1895, *Les petites religions de Paris*, 1894, etc.

Your proposal of half profits will not suit me at *all*, as what I want is *ready money* now; this being so, I make you the following definite offer: I will edit the book with proper explanatory notes and suitable introduction, and see the same through the press, and definitely sell you the copyright for £35 down payable as the MS. progresses, in the same way as we arranged with my other books. This is an abatement of £15; and I only offer this because the ready money is of importance to me.

Redway replied on 3 October and suggested that 'Five and twenty pounds generally goes a long way towards liquidating an author's profits on the royalty system for books on occult subjects.' He offered an advance of twenty-five pounds and a further ten when all his own costs had been covered. This arrangement was accepted by Mathers. By 28 November Redway had received part of the translation and had sent Mathers two cheques for five pounds. The letter that accompanied the second cheque gave considerable offence in Paris. Redway wrote:

I enclose . . . a report upon a portion of your MS. from which you may glean a few useful hints. I am sending you by registered post the MS. introduction as revised by myself in order that you may see where your long residence abroad and abstention from literary work has caused you—not to blunder but to neglect the graces of style . . . Impart a little more crispness to your style, I pray you.

It is evident that by 4 December Mathers had succeeded in extracting a loan of fifty pounds from Gardner, because on that day he wrote to Redway and asked him to remit all further sums due to him direct to Gardner. He had already received two cheques for five pounds, but had sent one of them to Gardner. A further fifteen was due on delivery of the manuscript and a final ten when Redway had recovered his costs.

Next, on 9 December, he wrote to Gardner and said that he would be 'only too glad of the other £50', but nothing is known about any previous request for this additional loan. By 16 December he was writing to Gardner about ways and means of escaping from Redway's clutches on the grounds that no formal contract or stamped agreement had been exchanged with the publisher. This letter ended with the expression of Mathers's regret that Gardner could not 'manage the other £50 or a part of it now, as I am terribly pushed and I have had to pay away £45 out of the first £50 you have lent me'.

On 19 December Mathers sent Redway a communication that was guaranteed to persuade him to abandon the Abra-Melin project without further ado.

I consider you and your Reader's remarks on my style of writing impertinent. Your name has a certain weight as a Publisher no doubt, but I have never understood that you posed as an Author, and I opine that it is my name on the Title Page of the Work in question, rather than that of yours or of your Reader that is likely to commend it to persons instructed in occultism.

As you have chosen to take this line with me, I must remind you that all that has hitherto taken place between us regarding the Magic of Abra Melin are simply negotiations and that no agreement has been definitely signed between us. My *only* reason for being willing to sell you the copyright, was, that I was then temporarily in immediate want of ready money; that period has gone by now.

Mathers now raised his terms. If Redway still wanted to publish the book he must pay '£50 down on delivery of the whole MS.' (less the ten pounds already advanced), plus a further ten after Redway had recouped his production costs, and given Mathers six bound copies of the work—in the past he had only received one. Furthermore, Redway was to agree not to make any alterations 'in any part of the MS. of the work'. Finally, if Redway was not prepared to accept these conditions Mathers would 'at once return the £10 you have already paid me; and consider all negotiations broken off between us'.

Redway rejected these proposals and asked for his advance of ten pounds to be refunded. All he received was a letter referring him to Gardner, to whom he wrote on 1 January 1897:

Mr Mathers of Rue Mozart, Paris, writes on 26 ult. to say that he has 'authorised' you to repay me ten pounds which he had obtained from me under circumstances which I need not go into. As I have not yet heard from you perhaps Mr Mathers is again imposing upon my credulity. Kindly let me hear from you at once.

We can now leave the Abra-Melin book for a while and continue with other matters.

In the meantime Gardner had again consecrated his Mercury talisman and with satisfactory results. Westcott wrote to him on 4

December 1896 and told him what he had to do in order to complete his examination schedule:

For H [Examination] you can choose to consecrate a Telesm, or invoke a spirit astrally, with Elemental in planetary—in either case you have to make a Talisman. Study [MS. ritual] E2 and make an abstract of Z2 and compose prayers for the several parts, cataloguing [angelic] names to be appealed to. I shall be glad to welcome you as a Theoricus Adeptus Minor when these two exams are done.

On 17 December Mathers sent him yet another item of financial advice:

N.B.—Don't go in for Greek securities in hopes of a rise *just yet*, the German Emperor's support is worth *nil*, and other complications are coming from a *totally unexpected factor*.

He wrote again on 26 December, this time hoping to persuade Gardner to lend him and his cousin Walter MacGregor Stoddart £250 in connection with a railway promotion scheme. Furthermore, the matter was urgent.

Private and Confidential

Dear Gardner,

I am going to lay before you a most important piece of private business.

The Imperial Ottoman Government is conceding the rights of construction of a railway in Turkish Territory to my friend the Marquis D'Oyley, of the Chateau de Sans Souci, Bellevue, Bas Meudon, near Paris, and also of 19 Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris.

This concession is now being signed by the Sultan at Constantinople; and my cousin Walter MacGregor has been offered participation in the profits accruing from the undertaking in consideration of the work he has done and is doing in the matter, and of his providing a certain portion of the initial expenses; to this end he has received a Promissory note from the said Marquis D'Oyley. Walter MacGregor and I are called upon to find within a week the sum of £250. If you can do this MacGregor is willing to give you a charge on the Promissory Note aforesaid to secure you the repayment of the aforesaid sum together with a considerable Bonus which we are prepared to arrange with you, if you can do this matter for us. But it is

necessary for us to know *at once* whether you are prepared to open negotiations on the matter as we have barely a week to settle the thing in.

Please therefore *telegraph* to me at once on the receipt of this, whether you can entertain the proposition. My cousin MacGregor and I stand to realise a *considerable fortune* over the business, and that in a few months the whole matter has *most important* political bearings; as you can understand when I tell you that Alphonse de Rothschild is providing the major portion of the finances.

Even this small matter with us may mean the beginning of a good deal of business for you, if you choose to take it up.

For the present the thing must be kept absolutely quiet, and I trust you to treat this letter as most confidential, as by divulging anything for a week or two it may weaken the scheme. By the way I would advise you to get rid of any Egyptian securities you may hold, as soon as possible.

I am prepared to give you documentary evidence of the genuineness of the affair; but to this end it would be better to discuss the matter personally; i.e. for us to come to you, or for you to come to us; but this must be *immediate*, as I have not the money to spare for the fare just now.

Mathers next asked Gardner to pay Redway the ten pounds that he owed him and continued:

I am *awfully* pushed for *ready* money, and should be very glad if you can manage any more on the Book. I think your proposal re its publication a very just one; only perhaps it is a little too favourable to *me*, as you have had so much bother in the matter.

As you will see by the final part of this letter I expect to realise a considerable fortune, but that could not be for some months.

Gardner did not respond to this alluring proposition and Mathers wrote again on 1 January 1897. He and his cousin had secured a further two weeks in which to raise the £250 and hoped to travel to London within the next few days to see Gardner. Mathers and Vestigia were in London towards the end of January, but this visit was connected with the aftermath of the Annie Horniman affair and by then the 'considerable fortune' which Mathers expected had probably vanished into thin air.

At the end of January there was some confusion about the date when Gardner could sit for his last examination for the Theoricus grade. Westcott wrote to him on 26 January about this and added:

Leave the F.E.R. [Annie Horniman] business alone—I find she has been more injudicious and annoying than I thought, but if all is kept quiet she may get back in the end if she wishes.

I am appointed Vice Emperor of Isis.

If you can't come tomorrow at 3.30 [to 62 Oakley Square for his last examination], let me know at once.

Westcott was now siding with Mathers as far as Annie Horniman was concerned. Whether his promotion to the office of Vice-Emperor of the Isis-Urania Temple had anything to do with this is not known. In any event his satisfaction was to be short-lived.

Gardner cannot have been able to keep the appointment at Oakley Square at such short notice since he did not do his H. examination until 1 February. Mathers sent him a brief note in which he apologised for his inability to be present. 'We go up to Scotland tomorrow where we shall be staying with Sub Spe [J. W. Brodie-Innes],' he announced. This may have been the Parisian Highlander's first visit to the land of his unidentified MacGregor ancestors.

Gardner had now passed all his Second Order examinations and on 4 February Westcott wrote to 'Care et V.H. Frater D.P.A.L.—Th.A.M.' to inform him that 'the Chief has entered in the Record Book your advancement to Theoricus—many congratulations.'

As a fully-fledged Theoricus Adeptus Minor Gardner was entitled to examine candidates for the Portal grade and Florence Farr soon sent him the examination papers for J. Herbert Slater ('Veritas A Deo Est'). 'I think this paper will make the candidates sit up, don't you?' she wrote on 20 February.

Mathers and Vestigia were back in London by Wednesday 10 March and were staying with Miss Ada Waters ('Recta Pete') and her brother George at 97 Westbourne Grove in the Bayswater district. He had a bookselling business there. On that day he wrote to Gardner:

Re the MS. of the Book of Abraham the Jew, I return to Paris on Saturday and shall proceed at once with the rest of the MS. without delay . . . We had a very pleasant and active time on every plane in Scotland; but I was ill for a week with a chill and am hardly myself yet.

Gardner, who was a well-intentioned busybody, now thought that

it might be a good idea to encourage professional commissions for embroidery for Florence Farr from members of the G.D. She had been a pupil of May Morris and was tolerably skilled in this work. She wrote to him on 11 March 1897:

I have been to see the M[acGregor] M[athers] at Miss Waters today and he mentioned your note to him about me. It was awfully good of you to think of writing it; but I don't think it is a good thing for me to make a practice of doing work for members of the Order for money unless it is quite a spontaneous necessity on their part. Especially I would not like them to think I wanted them to give me work to do . . . I am not in actual want as I can get money from my father's trustees which would keep me for a year to come, but naturally one does not like to spend all one's capital.¹ If only I could get myself to work at something profitable as hard as I work on what is unprofitable I should soon be rich.

Westcott's tenure of office as Vice-Emperor of Isis-Urania Temple only lasted about seven weeks, because by the middle of March 1897 he had been compelled to resign. He wrote to Gardner on Wednesday 17 March:

Private

Care et V.H. Fra.,

I called on you today to say I have, very sadly, resigned all my offices in G.D. and remain but a private Adept. I have to say that, as it happens, the reason is a purely personal one, owing to my having recd. an intimation that it had somehow become known to the State officers that I was a prominent official of a society in which I had been foolishly posturing as one possessed of magical powers—and that if this became more public it would not do for a Coroner of the Crown to be made shame of in such a mad way. So I had no alternative—I cannot think who it is that persecutes me—someone must talk.

I had a similar situation in 1889 about the T[heosophical] S[ociety] and my support of Madame Bla[vatsky] at Avenue Road and then I had to cease lecturing there on Thursdays. I was then

¹ 'Florence Farr was the daughter of Dr William Farr, famous as a sanitary reformer in the mid-nineteenth century . . . Though Dr Farr survived his wits and lost most of his means by senile speculations before his death in 1883, he left enough to enable Florence to live modestly without having to sell herself in any fashion, or do anything that was distasteful to her.'—G. B. Shaw's 'Explanatory Word' in *Florence Farr*, Bernard Shaw and W. B. Yeats, ed. by Clifford Bax, 1946, p. viii.

the Vice-President of the Blavatsky Lodge. It looks as if someone was trying to get me out of G.D. office—eh?

I hope to continue giving private help to members, unless M[athers] takes it in an angry way, as to the trouble it gives him. I have suggested that you and [Charles] Rosher and [Miss] Waters could have my office work divided among you and I have said that S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] remains in charge, until she hears from him [Mathers]. But she says she shall do nothing until she receives a definite request to act. I hope you will endeavour to mitigate M[athers's] wrath if he shows any. Someone will have to be nominated to receive Rituals instead of S.A. on the labels.¹ As you have just bought a house and are not likely to move I should suggest your name—if he agrees. You are not the man to have the contract tampered with by any one.

Yours always, with Hermetic love,
S. Aude

Who, it is reasonable to ask, might want to push the inoffensive Dr Westcott out of the G.D.? The answer, I believe, is that it could only have been Mathers.

The Chief returned to Paris on Saturday 13 March 1897. It seems that Westcott received an embarrassing communication from the legal authorities, or was perhaps present at a painful interview, on Monday 15 March. He called on Gardner to tell him the news on Wednesday 17 March, found him away from his office and wrote to him that same day. My suspicion that Mathers might have planted some kind of denunciation in the appropriate quarter before leaving London was partially confirmed by a passage in *The 'Rosicrucian' Scandal*, a privately-printed pamphlet containing an attack on Mathers that was published in 1911 by Leo Vincey. Mr Vincey, however, was none other than Aleister Crowley.

In March 1910 Mathers unsuccessfully tried to obtain an injunction to prevent Crowley from publishing details of the Second Order initiation ritual in *The Equinox* (I, iii). The following dialogue, which was alleged to have taken place in the Law Courts, does not necessarily reflect the truth.² And yet Mathers may have told him the story about leaving the

¹ Rituals and other MSS. circulated to members to copy bore a printed label requesting their return to Sapere Aude at 396 Camden Road in the event of a member's death or severe illness.

² Leo Vincey (i.e. Aleister Crowley), *The 'Rosicrucian' Scandal*, 1911, pp. 8–9.

'Magical MSS.' in a cab when they were briefly close friends in 1900.

Scorpio, K.C. With regard to Dr. Westcott, now: was he your colleague?

Mathers. Yes.

Scorpio, K.C. Was his name printed on the MSS. of the Order of the Golden Dawn as the person to whom they should be returned in case of the owner's death or disability?

Mathers. Yes.

Scorpio, K.C. And these MSS. contain practical instructions for raising devils, making yourself invisible, transforming men into animals, making gold, making rain, and all the other fabled arts of sorcerers?

Mathers. Yes.

Scorpio, K.C. In short, you and Dr. Westcott were teaching the vilest practices of black magic?

Mathers. Yes.

Scorpio, K.C. You quarrelled with Dr. Westcott.

Mathers. Yes.

Scorpio, K.C. You were jealous of his authority?

Mathers. Divided authority is no authority.

Scorpio, K.C. You are not a careless man?

Mathers. One cannot be too careful in matters of magic.

Scorpio, K.C. Did you ever leave any magical MSS. in a cab?

Mathers. The best of us may err. Even Homer nodded.

Scorpio, K.C. These MSS. were taken to Scotland Yard?

Mathers. I cannot say, of my own knowledge.

Scorpio, K.C. That would be the usual course?

Mathers. I suppose so.

Scorpio, K.C. Dr. Westcott's name and address being on them, the authorities would return them to him?

Mathers. I suppose so.

Scorpio, K.C. Did they further intimate to Dr. Westcott that he was paid to sit on corpses, not to raise them; and that he must choose between his Coronership and his Adeptship?

Mathers. I believe so.

Scorpio, K.C. So that he resigned active membership in the so-called Rosicrucian Order?

Mathers. He did resign.

Scorpio, K.C. Very fortunate piece of carelessness for you!

Mathers. Fortune favours the brave.

The letter that Westcott wrote to Gardner on 18 March 1897 identifies his multifarious activities in the Order. We know from the 1893 diary how much time he had been giving to its affairs four years earlier, and with the continued growth of the G.D. in the Outer and the Second Order it is unlikely that his work had diminished.

Best thanks for your letter. I cannot be at home tomorrow evening as I have to meet Sub Spe [J. W. Brodie-Innes from Edinburgh] and after that S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] also but shall be pleased to see you on an early day next week. No news yet from the Chief, but he had my letter Tuesday morning [i.e. 16 March].¹

I do not expect that he would give me the powers of a consulting physician to the Order's diseases now I have resigned, but we shall see. I have had sympathetic communications from L.O. and Shem, Vig[ilate], Sub Spe and Burry [i.e. Percy Bullock and his wife, Mrs Rand, J. W. Brodie-Innes and Dr Henry Pullen Burry].

It seems to me that M[athers] might split up my duties into several offices, such as:

Reader of Minutes, Exams and progress
Circulator of Rituals
Examiner of Horus [Temple, Bradford] exam answers
Superintendent of 5° = 6° admissions
Corresponding Sec.
Treasurer

Such a management would spread the interest among many and giving them a living interest in the Order.

The new Pass Word is out, I wonder if you can divine it again?

Private—I hear that M[athers] now thinks Peck superior to Innes as an occultist.

William Peck ('Veritas Et Lux') was a prominent member of the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh (0° = 0° December 1893; Second Order 1 November 1895). Although a professional astronomer he believed in astrology. (See p. 190 below.)

Westcott now found it expedient to remain in the background. Indeed, such was his desire for caution that he even avoided any

¹ Hence Westcott knew that he would have to resign on Monday 15 March and wrote to Mathers immediately.

direct contact with Florence Farr, who was henceforth in charge of the Order in London as Mathers's representative, hence the following letter to Gardner. It is undated but was probably written before the end of March 1897.

Private

Dear G.,

Could you represent to the Chief Adept in charge in Anglia [Florence Farr] that I shall be pleased to supply any document belonging to the Hermetic Soc. but I should be glad if the said person would choose a gentleman adept friend, who would sign his own masculine name, and sign himself as—Acting as Sec. to the Hermetic Soc.—and would write in the ordinary business way whenever any application has to be made to me, rather than that the Ch. Ad. in charge should in any way communicate with me, at the present time—because the Tarot and Astrology both threaten me now with quarrels and much that is disagreeable in connection with occultism.

Yours fraternally,
S. Aude

P.S. Don't let it be Ayton—Julian Baker might do.

There is an undated letter from Florence Farr to Gardner which was written at about this time: 'My dear Mr Gardner: Will you please take the first possible opportunity of delivering enclosed into S.A.'s own hands. It is extremely important.'

In Paris Mathers was back at work on the Abra-Melin book. Gardner was impatient to receive the complete manuscript because he would not recover his loan to Mathers, let alone the prospective printing and binding costs, until copies were on sale to the public. Mathers wrote to him on 31 March 1897:

Since my return I have been working nearly every day at the Abra-Melin MS., and am getting on with the same; but I must retain what I have of the MS. until I have finished my notes on the symbolic squares.

Besides this you must remember the effect of all the tomfoolery in the Second Order last year has been to enormously increase my administrative labours.

In the meantime, judging from his next letter to Gardner, Westcott may have had a mild nervous breakdown. On 6 April 1897 he wrote:

If I get well again I shall be pleased to work [i.e. privately] with you and [Francis] Wright ['Mens Conscia Recte', the Masonic miller from Maidstone].

But I want my *name* kept out of G.D. business for the present. If S.S.D.D. or Shem[eber—Mrs Bullock] want anything of me, you can be a messenger if you like to be kind enough to do so; only their consultation of me must be confidential.

By 17 May Westcott's private group included Mrs Kennedy ('Volo'), Reena Fulham-Hughes ('Silentio'), Francis Wright and Gardner.

At about this time there was a major change in the working of the Second Order. Firstly, the examination system for the Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade was not maintained with its former stringency; secondly, there were now a number of 'secret groups'. According to a much later document: 'V.H. Frater D.D.C.F. [Mathers] . . . neglected examinations because he came to see the practical imperfection of the system in dividing the fit from the unfit. Sapientia [Florence Farr] agreeing with him, did not enforce examinations . . . though members were free to go through the curriculum if they found it helpful.' According to the same document Florence Farr was 'appointed head of the London Branch of the Order' on or about 1 April 1897, 'and the formation of secret groups was advised and legalised on the same occasion by D.D.C.F.'¹

These changes were caused by Westcott's retirement, since in the past it was he who, apart from all his other self-imposed chores, had dealt with much of the endless work connected with the Th.A.M. examinations. Mathers was incapable of attending to all the pettifogging detail that Westcott had obviously enjoyed, and the same would have applied to Florence Farr.

The 'secret groups' ranged from informal study circles to more ambitious affairs, such as Florence Farr's 'Sphere' group, which engaged itself in elaborate esoteric exercises. The groups and the problems which they later created in the Second Order are discussed in chapter 16 below.

I suspect that Mathers arrived early on the morning of Tuesday 6 April 1897 at the premises of his local printer, a certain Monsieur Guénier, whose shop was just down the street at 35 Rue Mozart. Monsieur Guénier was told that a small supply of posters was urgently

¹ 'Statement issued to Adepts by the majority of the Council. February 1901.'

PERDU

20 Francs de Récompense

Il a été laissé par deux Écossais dans le train N° 42, allant à la Gare du Nord, le 5 AVRIL, vers 8 heures du soir, une VALISE Anglaise en cuir jaune contenant 2 Cahiers reliés noir et 100 feuilles séparées de manuscrits Anglais.

S'ADRESSER à :

Monsieur MAC GRÉGOR 87. Rue Mozart

AUTEUIL

Imp. GUÉNIER 35, Rue Mozart

Figure 4 Poster announcing the loss of the MS. of *The Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*

needed. Within a day or two they were up at various stations between Auteuil and the Gare du Nord.

The text of an important announcement was printed on orange-coloured paper (c. 11 × 8 in.): 'LOST. 20 francs reward. A yellow leather English suitcase containing two black notebooks and 100 leaves of manuscript in English was left by two Scotsmen at about 8 p.m. on 5 April in Train No. 42 going in the direction of the Gare du Nord. Apply to Monsieur MacGregor, 87 Rue Mozart, Auteuil.'

The 'two Scotsmen'—the second one was probably his cousin Walter MacGregor Stoddart—must have been wearing kilts, otherwise there is no reason why anyone should have recalled them.

Mathers had lost the Abra-Melin manuscript but did not inform Gardner until almost a month later, no doubt in reply to an urgent demand for a progress report. He wrote to Gardner on 2 May:

In answer to your letter of 28th inst., I have had a serious piece of ill-luck with the Manuscript of the Magic of Abramelin. Had this not occurred, I should have certainly been able to let you have the complete work in about a week.

On April the 5th as you will see from the enclosed poster, in quitting the train at Auteuil I inadvertently left a bag with the manuscript in it, in the compartment. I remembered it before I got to the foot of the staircase, and at once rushed back, but only arrived on the platform in time to see the train quitting the Station. We telegraphed and made enquiries, and I have been to all the lost property offices, and have also reclaimed it at the Prefecture, but so far without success. And I have had posters of which the enclosed is a specimen put up at all the likely stations. When I left the train there was only one other passenger in the compartment, apparently a French working man.

I hope to regain the MSS. as they could be of no possible use to anyone, but the bag would no doubt be very convenient to the finder, as it was rather a good one. If I do not recover them, I must simply rewrite the MS. at the Arsenal as rapidly as I possibly can.¹

On the day that Mathers lost the Abra-Melin manuscript (5 April) Florence Farr wrote to Gardner:

I have just heard terrible news of the state of things in Paris. He is working as hard as he can at the Translation but they

¹ Aleister Crowley later learned from Mathers about the difficulties he had experienced with the Abra-Melin book. In his *Confessions* Crowley wrote: 'Mathers had discovered the manuscript of *Abra-Melin* in the library of the Arsenal at Paris and begun to translate it. He found himself harassed and opposed on all sides. In those days there was practically no public way of getting about Paris at all. Mathers lived at Auteuil, a long way from the Arsenal, and met with so many bicycle accidents that he was driven to go on foot [a distance of five miles] . . . Other misfortunes of every kind overwhelmed Mathers. He was an expert Magician and had become accustomed to use the Greater Key of Solomon with excellent effect. He did not realise that *Abra-Melin* was an altogether bigger proposition. It was like a man, accustomed to handle gunpowder, suddenly supplied with dynamite without being aware of the difference.'—*The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, ed. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, p. 176.

are inundated with correspondence and seem worked to death; in addition to this I am told they can only just jog along from day to day and are getting into deeper and deeper difficulties because they can't get enough money to move with. I have collected £20 for them and have called a meeting for tonight to lay the case before the 5° = 6°s. There is no doubt we will have to increase the entrance fee for the Outer Order and make them some allowance if the Order is to go on at all. What I am going to ask you to do is to let your money lie a little longer in peace; until we can see some way to deal with the question of regular contributions to them from Order friends.

Westcott wrote twice to Gardner on 6 May:

Did you go to O[akley] S[quare] last evening? S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] had a meeting there to collect money to give to M., because Waters has come back from Paris with the news that if he does not get £75 in three weeks, they will be sold up. For old friendship's sake I have given Ten Pounds.

In his second letter he said:

I hear Volo [Mrs Kennedy] has given £10 and [Miss] Waters £5. Shem [Pamela Bullock] is thinking of resigning all offices and membership. I may look in at your office at about 12 tomorrow.

Gardner's post was more interesting than usual the day that he received Westcott's two letters, because there was also an intriguing communication from H. C. Morris ['Cavendo Tutus'], who wrote from 361 Brixton Road. He sent information about a recent alleged magical operation at the expense of their friend Annie Horniman.

I came up to the office today to see you but I was unlucky for you were out each time. I expect that you have heard that the prophecy you made to me about 'S Rioghail [Mathers] getting into low water has come true. I was up at 62 [Oakley Square] yesterday evening, at a meeting which I received notice of in the morning. It appears that S.R.M.D. [Mathers] is in urgent need of £75 within 3 weeks. He has not asked for it but a subscription is being got up for him.

Then this morning I received a pamphlet by 'Respiro' (who is Resurgam) in which he describes in a footnote how he worked the 'arch-natural' powers against 'an enemy' of his and described the punishment which fell on the same enemy. Then he had

written at the bottom of the page for my edification the following doggerel.

'Oh! F.E.R. you should not let
Your angry passions rise.
Your feline claws were never meant
To scratch a Frater's eyes.'

So I have written to S.A. [Westcott] and to S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr], but to the latter most fully. I have told her that I consider it a 'deliberate and exulting avowal of black magic' and asked her whether she will bring it before the Chief Adept [Mathers], or whether I shall. So now I am awaiting events. I do not know whether 'Resurgam' has sent the thing to anyone else besides me. It doesn't matter much either way. For something will be done. I will look in at the office again and take my chance of seeing you.

H. C. Morris supposed that 'Respiro' was Dr Edward Berridge ('Resurgam'). 'Respiro', however, was Dr C. M. Berridge (see p. 119). The title of the pamphlet was *The Man, the Seer, the Avatar, or T. L. Harris, the Inspired Messenger of the Cycle*. The combination of the promotion of Thomas Lake Harris's teachings, the doggerel verse with the well-known initials F.E.R. (Fortiter et Recte), and finally the allusion to a retaliatory magical operation against an unspecified occultist, were sufficient to persuade Morris that Dr Edward Berridge was settling old scores. The text of the offensive footnote follows:

Just after the first pamphlet in this series [*Internal Respiration: or, the Plenary Gift of the Holy Spirit*] was published, a fiendish attempt was made by an *occultist* [the word occultist was underlined by Berridge] to injure me occultly, socially and professionally on account of my advocacy of the New Life. I invoked the aid of the arch-natural powers, and was informed that within 12 months the guilty would be punished. After a series of troubles from an occult source had fallen upon the enemy, and even upon those who had allowed themselves to be drawn into the vortex, just within the predicted time the avenging force of the reverse current culminated and the enemy was occultly crushed; this being followed in a few weeks by a great disaster on the material plane. *Verbum sap.*

The day he received H. C. Morris's letter Gardner sent a tart note to Dr Berridge in which he said that he would tell Annie Horniman about his unwarrantable attack on her, 'and no doubt you will hear from her solicitors in due course'.

Dr Berridge replied by return on 8 May and denied that Gardner had any right to assume that he was the author of the pamphlet. 'I believe it has been largely circulated,' he wrote, 'many copies being sent to Theosophists, of whom possibly you are one . . . [they were] issued by two elderly gentlemen, personal friends of myself, not living in England, and not in any way connected with the G.D.'. Furthermore, he suggested, it would be difficult for Annie Horniman 'to identify herself with the magic letters F.E.R., without breaking the solemn obligation of secrecy taken in the presence of the great avenging angel HUA'. This was a reference to the oath or obligation taken by the candidate in the 5° = 6° initiation ceremony.

Gardner also wrote to Mathers on 7 May. The Chief, who owed him money and was messing him about with the Abra-Melin translation, must be brought to his senses. And Mathers, in his capacity as Deo Duce Comite Ferro, 7° = 4° etc., must forthwith deal firmly with the impossible Dr Berridge. The letter and enclosure that he mailed to Paris were hardly of a kind to please the irascible Mathers.

My dear Mathers,

It having come to my knowledge that you were in great financial straits, and that some of your friends have thought it necessary to make an urgent appeal to your pupils and admirers for monetary help, specifying a very early date for which it is necessary for you to receive assistance; I feeling myself under an obligation to you as a teacher propose the following mode of assisting you—and I hope you won't be too insensible of your own interests and the Order's need for your valuable services to throw aside the chance that I now offer you. I may as well tell you that I am pointing out to them the way in which they can help me to assist you, and so put your future upon a sound basis of recognition of your services. I enclose details of my Terms with this letter.

Yours sincerely,
F. L. Gardner

TERMS

1. That I provide Furnished Lodging for *yourself* and *wife* for 6 months free, at my mother's house in Kensington, which is

my property, on mutual trial to see how matters go on.

2. You to devote yourself entirely to the Order acting as Registrar [this was Westcott's old function], and to abstain from all Political Work of any description.

3. You to grant a favourable reply to my petition re F. et R. [Annie Horniman] and to reinstate her in exactly the same position she held, before her expulsion.

4. You to expel Frater Resurgam for his unflattering and unfraternal allusion to F. et R. in his pamphlet called 'The Man, The Seer etc.', in which there is a distinct allusion to a Black Magical Process against her. As this is a matter of Resurgam on the one hand and the Order on the other; and members of the Order to whom I have shewn the attack all think it is a question of personal honour whether they should retain their membership in an Order which permits one member to so grossly attack a Lady.

5. I undertake to procure from the Adepts on your behalf a contribution of £1 a week for you and your wife's support during the said period of 6 months.

6. In order to ensure an early completion of your Translation of the book you have in hand for me at the Bib. de l'Arsenal, I suggest that V.H. Soror V[estigia] N[ulla] R[etorsum] returns to London and takes up as well the accommodation I mention and that you should take a temporary lodging close to the library so as to complete the contract you have made with me as early as possible. I will arrange that you shall have £1 a week until such work is completed and then send you your fare to London.

Mathers's indignant reply was written on 9 May 1897.

I absolutely and utterly *refuse* to accept any such terms as those offered in your letter of the 7th, which at the very least might have been couched in politer style. The fact of my being in straitened circumstances does not give you or any one else the right to insult me, and I will stand insult from no one.

I consider it impertinent for you to dictate to me what work I may, and what work I may not do; *especially* in face of what I said to the assembled Theorici, at Headquarters, on the occasion of my last visit, as to Political and Military work, you being present.

I refuse to be dictated to by you as to whom to reinstate or whom to expel in the Order. I am not S.A. [Westcott] to be

coerced by threatenings; and I am prepared to accept the resignations of any Members who wish to resign. I have ruled this Order without fear or favour in the past, only obeying the Secret Chiefs; them I shall continue to obey, for I am *their* servant and not that of the English members of the Order; and shall continue to act as justly as I know how.

Considering that 16 months since I deliberately refused a Politico-Military appointment worth £1,000 per annum because its acceptance would have meant almost entire severance from G.D. work, you can understand that V.N.R. and I are not prepared to sell our whole time for £1 a week (or 10s. a week each).

Still, I believe your letter and proposal to have been in their way well and kindly meant though awkwardly expressed; and I thank you sincerely for your kind interest in the matter.

In the meantime money for Mathers was being collected in London and Edinburgh. A few days later Westcott wrote an undated letter to Gardner:

M. has written to L.O. [Percy Bullock] and has mentioned your letter and the 'casual charity'. Innes says Amen-Ra gave M. its surplus funds and also a collected purse, about £60-£70 in all.

Westcott wrote to him again on 14 May 1897:

I return your copy of letter to M. I hope it may act as you desire. Shem[eber—Mrs Bullock] is very poorly—in bed today. Money is being sent to M. by the committee. He has suspended Resurgam for three months.

Gardner replied to Mathers's angry letter on 14 May:

I am sorry to see that you do not accept my offer, which was well meant even if it has proved offensive to you, but I am a Business man and not a sentimentalist who might have put things differently; however, under the circumstances I consider that you should finish the contract you have with me before you do Political Work.

As regards my letter being couched in what you call impolite and rude terms that is a matter of opinion, as others to whom I have shewn my letter do not think so. Also as regards the £1 a week to which you so contemptuously refer, I may add that that amount *does* suffice to support my wife and self.

I made this offer in order to put an end to what to my mind appears to be the undesirable system, of living on the casual charity of members of the Order: such as the gifts and loans of Fortiter [Annie Horniman], myself, the donation you had from Scotland and the collection now being made in England.

There was no further correspondence between Gardner and Mathers until the end of June.

While Mathers obviously had no great desire to discipline Dr Berridge for Annie Horniman's sake, he felt obliged to make at least a gesture. Accordingly he wrote to Berridge on 13 May and informed him that he was suspended from both the First and Second Orders for a period of three months until 13 August. A copy was sent to Florence Farr together with a letter in which he mentioned in passing that two ladies had just been initiated in his Ahathoor Temple at Paris and yet another would be admitted a few days hence.

Another six weeks passed and Gardner was still waiting for the arrival of the balance of the Abra-Melin material from Paris. He wrote to Mathers on 28 June 1897:

I find that I last wrote to you on 14 May and I write you again to know *when* you intend to let me have the rest of your MSS re Abra-Melin the Jew, as I really must ask you to put me in a position to be able to liquidate the £55 I lent you and which you still owe me. Will you either send me the money by return or the MSS.

Mathers despatched five manuscript books, containing almost all the second half of the work, on Friday 2 July. The consignment was accompanied by a solemn warning.

I must warn you in the strongest manner possible, that if you do not take the very greatest care, you may find yourself involved unexpectedly in some very untoward circumstances from which you may find it no easy matter to extricate yourself, during the time that the part of the Abra-Melin manuscript, which I am sending you by this post, is in your possession. It is the [magical] *Squares* which I have found to be endowed with a species of automatic intelligent vitality. I have had much experience of Magical Manuscripts, but to tell you my experiences while copying these Squares would cause you altogether to doubt my veracity. Therefore I advise you to be on your guard all the time that the squares and the [artwork for the] Frontispiece



Figure 5 Mrs Mathers's line drawing for the title-page of *The Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Mage*

are in your house. The *shape* of the Casket presented by the head of the lower triad of Demons in the drawing was altered completely in the pencil sketches, and that by no mortal hand.

When Gardner received the Abra-Melin material and Vestigia's design for the frontispiece (see Fig. 5), there was an additional piece of artwork that puzzled him, so he wrote to Mathers and asked what it was. Mathers furnished an explanation when he replied on 9 July—it had a magical significance!

I expect you have made a mistake over the 'Second Drawing' you talk about. There is only one, namely the Frontispiece. But I used an old partly commenced Warrant for a Temple to put with it to protect it from pressure, and also because I thought that the names of the four rivers thereon would serve as a check to a possible sudden loss or disappearance, or other mischief. So pay no attention to this 'Second Drawing', which has nothing to do with the Abra-Melin MS.

Dr Berridge's period of suspension ended on 13 August and Gardner immediately sent him a disobliging letter. Berridge forwarded it to Mathers, who once again wrote testily to Gardner on 15 August:

I have never appointed you my deputy to interfere in matters connected with the Order; and I will not permit you to meddle with their direction. Your utterly unwarrantable letter of 7th inst. to V.H. Frater 'Resurgam' has been placed in my hands. You cannot be ignorant of the penalties attached to breach of your 5° = 6° Obligation, nor yet the fraternal spirit which that Obligation inculcates.

Gardner replied on 17 August and complained that Berridge had sent Mathers a letter that had been marked 'Private and Confidential'. He disclaimed any intention of disputing the Chief's authority, but 'there was no contract made [in the Obligation] to respect or be friendly to a man who slanders a lady friend and publishes a claim to have used Black Magic upon her'. And finally, he stated, 'this Resurgam affair has become a widespread scandal and disgrace to the Order'.

Florence Farr knew about Gardner's letter to Berridge and regretted that it had been written. In a letter written to Gardner on 19 August she observed: 'I must say I think it most unwise of you to have acted as you have done with regard to Resurgam. He will simply be attached to us for ever now!' She, too, had no use for Dr Berridge.

Until now Gardner's relationship with Florence Farr had been

friendly, although never as close as with Annie Horniman. Then, out of the blue on 22 August 1897, she wrote him a letter that deeply humiliated him:

Care et V.H. Fra. D.P.A.L.

With much regret I have to tell you that as Superintendent of Rituals I cannot recommend you for further official position in Isis-Urania Temple, for the following reasons:

1. While you were attending the ritual classes I repeatedly warned you that dignity must at least be aimed at by an official. Your movements were—and are—much too boisterous, and your voice too uncontrolled.

2. Your manner to candidates, and those below you in the Order is intolerably rude; and I have over and over again received complaints from those who have been pained by your want of consideration for their feelings and your own dignity.

3. I had hoped that the office of Hegemon would have produced some beneficial effect on you; but I hear that it is quite painful to be present at ceremonies, and see the rites celebrated by one who seems to consider that he is a drill master in a board school.

The tone of your letters to those who have undertaken work for the Order in general is that of one who is employing and paying wages to those he is addressing, and I must ask you to adopt a different attitude.¹

Yours fraternally,
Sapientia Sapienti Dona Date

Gardner did not preserve copies of the letters he sent to Florence Farr at this period, but she wrote to him three times during the next week or two. Extracts from these follow:

In my notification to you I alluded to nothing but your manner and method as an officer of the Temple. I don't deny for a moment that in intention you are kindly and generous to the majority of the members.

If you want to hear the opinions of others regarding your ritualistic gifts in detail you must make your own enquiries.

I was put in authority in this matter a year ago and I fear

¹ Early in August Gardner had sent an angry letter to Miss Mary Briggs ('Per Mare Ad Astra'), whose function was to circulate notices of meetings. Through a misapprehension she had failed to send him a summons for a ceremony held on 7 August. She had taken exception to the tone of his letter and had complained to Florence Farr.

you will find I am not to be bullied into doing what I don't think is for the general good.

I can assure you none of your 'enemies', as you call them, dislike you as a person, only as an officer [24 August 1897.]

I have told you over and over again about all these things, but it seems to have hardly any effect. You seem better when I see you take office; but I am always getting reports of wounded susceptibilities. I always said that the Hegemon's office would put it all right, but it didn't. The [office] of Hiereus would only accentuate your faults and the Hierophant [i.e. the principal in the Outer Order rituals] is impossible. [28 August.]

I hear that you have made up your mind that Mathers inspired me in my late action regarding your official position in Isis. He has nothing whatever to do with it. The night Johnson and you came round to me after a ceremony Johnson described before your face the way you hustled the candidates, and told them in a loud voice to 'step up' or some such expression.¹

I said at the time: 'Why can't you whisper these things?'

Afterwards I was told by three different persons how very inappropriate it was. One expressed it as if you were 'driving a lot of sheep to the shambles'.

Well, I call that sort of thing abominably rude! You may not; but I do.

I don't want any further correspondence on the matter but I do want you to understand that Mathers had nothing to do with it. Ask A[nima] P[ura] S[it—Dr Pullen Burry] what he thinks of you as an officer. He is always there and should be a judge. To assert to everybody that 'false charges' have been made against you gives the impression that your moral character has been attacked. [n.d., written from Mrs Kennedy's house at Edenbridge.]

Westcott, too, was not without his problems at this time. He wrote to Gardner on 2 September 1897:

I am sorry to say I have had a sort of astral Adept Visitor, known to me, who advises me that for the present FeR [Annie Horniman] and all other Sorores should not work with me

¹ F. J. Johnson ('Ora Et Labore' o° = o° October 1889) was initiated in the Second Order on 15 January 1893. He resigned from the G.D. in 1899. 'I got tired of the empty monotony of mere Ceremonial without any real explanation of its import and significance: if there is any at all worth knowing that I did not previously know.' (Letter to F. L. Gardner dated Christmas 1899.)

occultly, and this is both for their sake and mine. I am writing to F.E.R. and hope she won't be disappointed; perhaps you will be able to keep on with her either at Talgarth Road or at her house. I am sad and upset about it, as I enjoyed the meetings very much. I am daily expecting to hear from [Colonel] Webber Smith re future study.¹

It goes without saying that Gardner wrote to Mathers to complain of Florence Farr's attitude to him. The G.H. Chief refused to interfere. 'It is not a personal matter between you and Sapientia, but a question of technique of [ritual] working, and of whether you possess sufficient tact', he wrote on 9 September. Another letter from Paris followed a couple of days later:

I notice that like most people who do not mind hurting other people's feelings; that you are extremely sensitive where your own are concerned.

As you wish to resign from Isis-Urania Temple I accept your resignation; but I prefer your belonging to some Temple instead of remaining merely an unattached Member. If you like to join Ahathoor [in Paris], you can, in which case there will be no joining fee to pay; and you will of course be able to attend other Temples as a Visiting Member.

Gardner now considered the possibility of circularising all the Second Order members about his grievances but Westcott counselled silence. 'Keep this letter, whatever happens,' he wrote, 'as some day I may like to psychometrise it, as it seems written by some order.'

The Gardner contretemps coincided with the opening of the Second Order's new premises at 36 Blythe Road, a turning immediately to the west of the present Olympia building in Hammersmith Road. They were above the offices of Mr C. E. Wilkinson, a builder. Gardner had presented a book-case and Mrs Rand wrote to him on 16 September to say that she and Reena Fulham-Hughes had just shelved all the G.D.'s books and catalogued the library and wondered if he would be willing to sell the book-case to the Order. Gardner refused to part with it but had the courtesy to leave his property at Blythe Road until after the formal opening or consecration of the premises on Thursday 21 September 1897. On the following day he sent

¹ A small group of Second Order members, including Annie Horniman, had been meeting at a private house in Talgarth Road, West Kensington. I have not been able to identify who lived there.

Dr Pullen Burry the text of an announcement for him to read at the Equinox meeting at Mark Masons' Hall when most of the First and Second Order members would be present.

It is with great regret that I have to inform you that I have resigned my Membership in our Lodge, owing to the refusal of our G. H. Chief to investigate certain charges that have been brought against me by our V.H. Soror S.S.D.D. and which I contend are absolutely false.

There were some who sympathised with him, partly because they had begun to distrust Mathers. For example, Mrs Macrae ('Vincit Qui Se Vincit') wrote to him on 24 September and said that 'the whole Order seems to us in such an unstable condition, that it might come to an end any day. My confidence in the Chief is completely shattered'. In a later letter (19 October 1897) she wrote:

It seems hardly likely that the Order can go on much longer in the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. I should have resigned on the first shock I received [presumably when Annie Horniman was expelled], were it not for G.H. Frater S.A. [Westcott], but wait on, to see if anything will be reconstituted under him, as Head.

As we shall discover, Mathers had a morbid fear that Westcott would intrigue against him and somehow gain control of the Order.

Gardner, who never knew when to stop, wrote to Dr Pullen Burry on 28 September to complain that he had not been informed if his letter of resignation had been read at the recent Equinox meeting. Pullen Burry replied on 29 September and told Gardner that, far from reading his letter, he had merely announced that he had resigned from Isis-Urania with effect from 13 September. His letter ended: 'If you can no longer go on with us, for God's sake go away, and leave us in peace to go our way.'

Mathers also wrote to Gardner on 29 September, and for its recipient this letter must have been the last straw. The communication is of particular interest since it indicates the kind of information that was recorded about candidates for admission to the G.D., not to mention Mathers's belief that the mere possession of the Abra-Melin manuscript threatened magical dangers for Gardner.

Were it not that I perfectly see and recognise the force which is possessing you, I would either suspend you, request you to

resign, or remove your name from the roll of the Order without more ado. You appear to look upon me, your Chief, in the light of a paid employee whom you can bully; *and I will not have it from you.* Unless there is a marked change in you, I shall refuse to have you any longer as a pupil of mine. *If you can find such knowledge as that of the Second Order elsewhere, in GOD'S NAME* go and get it; and the whole Order will be rid of a disturbing Member. I should have thought that if you only knew the real teaching of the Occultism contained in your books *one half as well* as you know their outside covers, that you would see how foolish you have been of late.

Is it *my fault* that you have rendered yourself so disagreeable in the Isis Temple that they have wearied of you? Riches are nothing in Occultism, as you very well know; position is nothing; and acts are nothing, unless prompted by the right spirit. It is not of such men that Magicians in truth and wisdom are made!

Do you think your disputes in the G.D. are the only, or the most important ones I have to adjudicate? Do you think it is such a pleasant and easy matter to judge rightly; and to endeavour to keep the lot of you in harmony? But, as I have said before, I can see the obsessing source. I warned you to take special heed to your actions, once the Abramelin MS. came into your hands; and it is not my fault if you have neglected that warning.

You signed your preliminary pledge form on Nov. 15th 1893 (4 years ago nearly). That pledge form in common with others passed through my hands for judgment. All I then knew of you was that I heard Tunstall Sneyd say that you were very much interested in Occult works, and that the Aytons had told me of your getting married.

The judgment of your pledge form ultimated thus: 'Uncertain and wavering. Excitable and nervous, and very mediumistic. Obstinate in trifles, oscillating in great things; consequently unreliable. Conceited and vain. Otherwise good-hearted and generous. Mistaken in all his *modes* of occult study; and very liable to obsession. Exaggerated.'

In view of this I directed you to be put back for 3 months, and written to. N[on] O[mnis] M[oriar—Westcott] wrote to you accordingly on Dec. 1 [1893]. Three months later your pledge form was again examined; and I wrote to N.O.M. that I declined taking a person so liable to obsession, but that he could

if he chose to take the responsibility; that personally I was undecided and left the decision to him.

He decided and you were admitted at the Vernal Equinox following. You worked well thereafter in the First Order, and in the process of time your name once more came before me for invitation to the Second Order. But a fresh charge arose, certain members of the Order brought a charge of unfraternal action against you with regard to a member or members of the Theosophical Lodge to which you had belonged; and I was written to about it and S[apere] A[u]de—Westcott] was much opposed to your being allowed to progress further in our science.

But I took a firm stand in the matter and directed you to be admitted to the Second Order, at the same time writing a private letter to Fortiter [Annie Horniman] entreating her by all means in her power to check gossip or slander in the Order from previous Theosophical dissensions. S.A. unwillingly submitted to my decision and you were duly advanced.

Now I find you giving way to all the weaker characteristics in the judgment on your pledge form; and I warn you for the last time against giving way so readily to obsessing forces. I have suffered quite enough already from the Karma of the Second Order; and I will not take upon me that of those who willingly lend themselves to the material side.

While Mathers's letter was on its way from Paris the tireless Gardner wrote again to Dr Pullen Burry, this time reminding him of his Freemason's oath 'to support a Master Mason's character in his absence as I would if he were present' and continued: 'I consider that as a Mason and a citizen you are unfit for the society of moral and upright men and may your name be handed down to posterity as a wilfully perjured wretch.'

Westcott, who was weary of the whole affair, wrote to Gardner on 1 October advising him to be 'calm again and leave them all alone'. In the meantime he and Mathers had arranged for him to join the Horus Temple at Bradford. If Mathers had not been financially indebted to Gardner he would no doubt have been ejected from the Order. What with his unsuccessful efforts on behalf of Annie Horniman, the collapse of his relationship with Florence Farr, his quarrels with Dr Berridge and Dr Pullen Burry, and his somewhat equivocal position *vis-à-vis* Mathers, it had so far been an eventful year for Frater De Profundis Ad Luceun.

* * *

Before the Crisis

1897-9

Mathers accepted the terms of a draft contract prepared by Gardner for the Abra-Melin book on 25 July 1897. He wrote:

Please note that my name should be MacGregor-Mathers; we only took the name of Mathers in A.D. 1603, in consequence of the proscription.

Re the size of the Edition, I thought you proposed a much larger one than only 300 copies. Do you not think this number is much too small?

According to the prospectus, which was already in proof, the edition was to be 'strictly limited to 300 copies' at the pre-publication price of a guinea. Gardner carefully omitted to disclose what the book would cost after publication. Furthermore, he never meant to limit the edition to 300 copies.

Mathers signed the agreement on 29 July. The document was witnessed by Allan Bennett, who was staying with Vestigia and himself. The copyright was to be owned jointly and the net profits shared equally, subject to Gardner's right to appropriate the first seventy-five pounds of Mathers's portion. At the same time Gardner made an agreement with John M. Watkins, bookseller and publisher at 26 Charing Cross, who was to distribute the edition on a ten per cent commission basis. Gardner, on his side, undertook to pay Watkins the same commission for any copies he himself sold.

Mathers wrote twice to Gardner on 29 September 1897. Both letters betrayed his irritation with Frater De Profundis Ad Lucem. The text of the first letter is printed on pp. 184-6, and part of the second follows. The manuscript of the Abra-Melin translation had been returned to the Chief with the final page proofs. Mathers had agreed that it should become Gardner's property, and the latter had now asked for it to be sent to him. This request produced a typical Mathers reaction:

In a letter to me you expressed a wish to have the MS., and I wrote that I should be pleased to agree to your request, but without fixing any date for the same. But I certainly gave you no right to write me an insolent letter as if I were thieving your property, in retaining the MS. for the present; and I will not put up with insulting letters from you. I am honourably carrying out the terms of our signed Agreement, and I expect you to do the same, and if you do not, I shall unwillingly be forced to bring an action against you for Breach of Agreement, and claim Damages. I consider the printing of the book is dragging very much, and I cannot understand why you as a business man should act against your own interests in this matter by delaying the publication of the work.

Gardner sent him a conciliatory letter and peace was restored for the time being. The book was almost ready for publication by the middle of January 1898 but there were unexpected delays, to which Mathers attributed occult opposition. He wrote to Gardner on 13 January: 'Many thanks for Prospectus and specimen binding . . . I am not surprised to hear of the Printer's trouble with strikes etc., considering it was the Abra-Melin book that was being printed.'

A thousand copies were at last ready for sale at the end of February 1898. The advertised limitation of the edition had been ignored by Gardner. However, his hope that he would quickly recoup his outlay and make a substantial profit was to be frustrated because the demand for the book was minimal. By 11 February 1899, almost exactly a year after its publication, only 120 copies had been sold. On that day Gardner wrote to J. M. Watkins:

I suppose you do not know of any client who would take the whole thing off my hands? I am out of pocket about £135 without counting interest and there are about 880 copies unsold, or what do you think about reducing the price as I am sick and tired of the whole business.

In October 1899 Gardner decided to sell the stock for whatever it would fetch. He wrote twice to Mathers during October but did not receive a reply. Yet another letter was mailed to Paris on 13 November:

In accordance with the notice I gave you in my letter of 13 October I am writing to confirm it and give you a final notice that I intend disposing of all or part of the unsold copies of

the . . . book, as and when in my discretion I think fit to do so, and at the best price I can obtain and apply the proceeds towards liquidating the cost of printing, binding etc., and then with the balance, if any, of liquidating the money you owe me. Should this prove insufficient, I shall then consider the desirability of printing and publishing certain other MSS. that I have, as if I cannot raise the balance one way I shall be compelled to do so in another.

It seems that Gardner did not reduce the price from a guinea to half a guinea until the autumn of 1900. Poor John Watkins found Gardner a tiresome man to deal with, and on 19 April 1902 suggested: 'Do you not think it would be best for you to fetch the stock of this book away? . . . Then there would be an end as far as I am concerned to this perpetual friction.'

Gardner learned from J. L. Atherton ('Semper Fidelis'), Cancellarius of the Horus Temple at Bradford, that he had been unanimously elected to membership on 26 September 1897. In his letter of that date Atherton explained that Horus meetings were not as frequent as those of Isis-Urania in London because the members lived at different places in the northern counties and travelling was difficult for many of them. He mentioned, too, that their last two meetings had been to celebrate the Equinox, hence in March and September 1897. Thus Gardner could hardly have expected a succession of visits to Bradford. Indeed, there is no evidence that he ever attended a Horus meeting.

He soon wrote to T. H. Pattinson, Imperator of Horus, about his quarrel with Florence Farr. Pattinson replied on 16 February 1898:

. . . all the Horus fellows agree that they could not conform in any way to such treatment or pander to dogmatic control, so we have asked Mathers to take over all the Second Order work in the Horus so that in future it will not be necessary for anyone to interfere with him. He seems to consider it a compliment. Henceforth we shall be detached from London altogether. Our head will be Mathers.

Does this please you? No petticoat government for us in any way.

The news that Mathers was to be more closely connected with the Horus Temple than in the past seems to have worried Gardner and he must have written to Pattinson about it. The latter sent him a reassuring letter on 25 February 1898:

You have no need to fear Mathers getting the top end of the Horus Temple chaps. You will see this when you see them, and you will find them much more to your line than the London men, anyway such men as you have seen in the G.D. with one or two exceptions. I can say fairly all the Horus men that have seen your letters can and do sincerely thank you for sending the correspondence on. We here consider common sense and good fellowship of more value than superior G.D. grades and this is one of our special peculiarities.

Gardner was also corresponding with his friend Madame de Steiger ('Alta Peto'), who sent him the latest news from Edinburgh and the Amen-Ra Temple.¹ There had latterly been trouble in the Amen-Ra Temple. Westcott wrote to Gardner on 1 May 1897 and mentioned that 'Mathers has now made himself Imperator also of Amen-Ra, displacing [Brodie-] Innes to Praemonstrator and Peck becomes Sub-Imperator'. However, by October 1897, when Madame de Steiger wrote the first of two undated letters to Gardner, William Peck had been appointed Imperator. She preferred Peck to Brodie-Innes.

I know Horus Temple [She joined it in October 1888]. I attended as 2 = 9 and 3 = 8 while I was in Liverpool, but it was horribly inconvenient to me going to Bradford. They usually had ceremonies on a Sunday and so I had to go from Saturday to Monday to an Hotel at Bradford . . .

Yes, we are very hard at work in Amen-Ra Temple. It is true Frater Veritas [William Peck] is our Imperator, also his promotion has been rapid, but he is a very remarkable and able man, very modest and very little self-assertion if at all. He is a *born* occultist and remember he is a first-rate astronomer and astrologer and accustomed to great thoughts. Also has from boyhood studied these matters from love of them; not from any desire to *rule over others* and to show forth his knowledge and play the Initiate here among admiring neophytes!!² He has worked far harder than is known.

¹ Isabelle de Steiger (1836-1927) was acquainted with most of the leading personalities in esoteric circles. She was particularly close to Anna Bonus Kingsford (see p. 40) and Mrs Mary Atwood, the author of *A Suggestive Inquiry into Hermetic Mystery* 1850. Her relationship with H. P. Blavatsky and Annie Besant was less cordial. For details see her rambling posthumous autobiography *Memorabilia*, [1927]. Towards the end of her long life she became an enthusiastic admirer of Rudolph Steiner. Reproductions of her unattractive 'occult' paintings will be found in A. E. Waite's periodical *The Unknown World*, 1894-5.

² Presumably a reference to J. W. Brodie-Innes.

Of course it has given and gives us much to do . . . I could for instance easily have passed several exams, for my Implements etc. are all consecrated, but I have had with others—and still have—so much to do in getting ready our Temple *complete* in every way, that I will have to put aside my own advancement *pro tem* but it will soon be ready . . . and I shall get on hard with my exams, for I have prepared so long for them.

The fact that a Vault was now being made at Edinburgh was confirmed in her second letter, which was probably written in November 1897.

Yes, I am painting the artistic part of the Vault, etc., such must be my office. It takes so much time but the leading part in the arrangements is taken by our Imperator and Praemonstratrix and Sub-Cancellaria. They are younger than myself and can 'run about more', but we *all* help and although the others cannot help in the *artistic* parts, faces, figures etc, I can and so help them in the mechanical parts. There is a *great deal to be done* and we are all of us very busy people on our own accounts.

The Cancellarius [Dr. Andrew P. Aitken] is a very busy man (Chemical Lecturer at the University), so is the Imp[erator], who is always liable for strangers to see the Observatory, as he is City Astronomer and bound to 'entertain strangers', and both the Praemonstratrix and Sub-Cancellaria have large households to attend to.

That there had been a split at Edinburgh is confirmed by two letters written by Westcott to Gardner in July 1898. The first was dated 21 July:

I also saw Sub Spe [Brodie-Innes], who is anti-Mathers now as before, and also anti-Peck; he has about 15 Adept followers and Peck no more. Peck has also had several resignations lately.

Best thanks for the letter which I have destroyed. There is some deep villainy on, I feel sure. I mean to see Peck next week and hope to learn something. Fortiter [Annie Horniman] and Innes both think that Mathers' fear of assassination business all flam and side. Innes says that M's political proceedings are *not* now alongside his.

Westcott went to Edinburgh and wrote to Gardner from the George

Hotel on 29 July. The following must refer to Mathers: 'All the Scotch have reckoned him up correctly, I think, but a few seniors are doing like one in London [Florence Farr?], tolerating a Master in hope of further profit.' The implication is that some still hoped that Mathers had further important occult teachings to reveal.

Again, there were members who were still intensely curious about the secret and invisible Chiefs of the Third Order, to whom Mathers owed allegiance. Thus Mrs Agnes Cathcart ('Veritas Vincit'), of Pitcairnie in Fifeshire, wrote to Gardner on 14 November 1899: 'I suppose you have no idea who the Chiefs *behind* him are? Surely S.A. [Westcott] must know?'

Aleister Crowley (b. 12 October 1875; d. 1 December 1947), who was undoubtedly the most formidable (or notorious) 'Magician' to be nurtured within the bosom of the Golden Dawn, joined the Order in November 1898 and was out of it by the spring of 1900. In view of the large amount of available autobiographical and biographical information there is no need to repeat here what can be readily found elsewhere.¹

My own impression is that Crowley was always a psychopath (although I do not feel qualified to define the nature of his madness), far more gifted than many of his detractors would allow, endowed with considerable imaginative qualities, and one of this century's greatest *farceurs*. In relation to the G.D. it must be remembered that his prominence was brief and his influence minimal. He played a conspicuous role in the crisis of confidence in Mathers that came to the boil early in 1900—this is discussed in the next chapter—but an upheaval was probably inevitable and would have happened without Crowley's eccentric although already typical intervention.

At this point it is only necessary to deal with Crowley's membership of the Order between November 1898 and the end of 1899, also to mention his friendship with Allan Bennett and antipathy towards W. B. Yeats. The latter partly explains his actions in 1900.

While still an undergraduate at Cambridge Crowley wanted 'to get

¹ The major biographical study is John Symonds, *The Great Beast*, [1951], revised and enlarged edition 1971. Mr Symonds is not one of Crowley's admirers. For a more sympathetic although not uncritical attitude see Israel Regardie, *The Eye in the Triangle: An Interpretation of Aleister Crowley*, Llewellyn Publications, St Paul, Minnesota, 1970. *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autobiography*, edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, is required reading for students of the Crowley 'phenomenon'.

into personal communion with the devil' and required a manual of technical instruction.¹ A bookseller produced a copy of A. E. Waite's *The Book of Black Magic and Pacts*, 1898, a pot-boiler that cannot have been of much help. This probably happened during the spring of 1898. He then discovered Mathers's *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, but found it heavy going. When climbing in the Swiss Alps from Zermatt during the summer of 1898 he happened to meet Julian L. Baker ('Causa Scientiae'), like Allan Bennett an analytical chemist. Crowley later described Baker as 'an alchemist of note'.² They discussed alchemy and Baker hinted that he knew of a Magical Society of the kind that Crowley was seeking. Furthermore, he promised to introduce him to London to 'a man who is much more of a Magician than I am'.³ The Magician turned out to be his fellow analytical chemist George Cecil Jones ('Volo Noscere'). Crowley recalled that 'he possessed a fiery but unstable temper, was the son of a suicide and bore a striking resemblance to many conventional representations of Jesus Christ'.⁴

G. C. Jones not only proposed Crowley for membership of the G.D. but lent him a copy of Mathers's *Abra-Melin* book and gave him some preliminary instruction in *Abra-Melin* magic. It was this book that revealed to him the possibilities of practical magical work and he now determined to perform what he called 'the *Abra-Melin* Operation', no matter what effort or cost were involved.

Crowley was initiated as *Frater Perdurabo* in the o° = o° Neophyte grade on 18 November 1898. He recalled in his *Confessions*:

I took the Order with absolute seriousness. I was not even put off by the fact of its ceremonies taking place at Mark Masons' Hall. I remember asking Baker whether people often died during the ceremony. I had no idea that it was a flat formality, and that the members were for the most part muddled middle-class mediocrities.⁵

His subsequent progress in the Outer Order was rapid. He successively took the preliminary grades of Zelator, Theoricus and Practicus between December 1898 and February 1899 and after the

¹ *Confessions*, p. 126.

² *The Equinox*, I, ii, 1909, p. 237.

³ *Confessions*, p. 165.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 176. Maud Gonne was 'oppressed by the drab appearance' of her fellow mystics (see p. 70 above).

statutory interval of three months was advanced to Philosophus 4° = 7° in May.

He met Allan Bennett for the first time at a G.D. ceremony during the spring of 1899.

After the ceremony we went into the outer room to unrobe. I was secretly anxious to be introduced to this formidable Chief. To my amazement he came straight to me, looked into my eyes, and said in penetrating and, as it seemed, almost menacing tones: 'Little Brother, you have been meddling with the Goetia!' (Goetia means 'howling'; but it is the technical word employed to cover all the operations of that Magick which deals with gross, malignant or unenlightened forces). I told him, rather timidly, that I had not been doing anything of the sort. 'In that case,' he returned, 'the Goetia has been meddling with you.' The conversation went no further. I returned home in a somewhat chastened spirit; and, having found out where Iehi Aour [Allan Bennett] lived, I determined to call upon him the following day.¹

Crowley found Bennett staying with Charles Rosher ('Aequo Animo') in a squalid tenement in the Lambeth district and invited him to be his guest at his flat at 67 Chancery Lane. A course of intensive magical tuition now began.

'... under his tuition I made rapid progress,' Crowley wrote. 'He showed me how to get knowledge, how to criticise it and how to apply it. We also worked together at Ceremonial Magick; evoking spirits, consecrating talismans and so on.'² Bennett was clearly Crowley's most important instructor during his formative period as a Magician. Before he met Bennett he appears to have learned a good deal from G. C. Jones. He seems to have encountered Mathers for the first time in May 1899.

Bennett, Jones and Baker were his friends in the G.D. His dislike for W. B. Yeats was intense because he imagined, although without cause, that Yeats was jealous of his poetic gifts. He had visited Yeats one evening and showed him the proofs of his play *Jephthah*, which was published in 1899. Yeats contented himself with uttering a few polite trivialities. Crowley was furious. '... it would have been a very

¹ *ibid.*, p. 178.

² *ibid.*, p. 181. Instruction of this kind was never given to Outer Order members and according to the Second Order regulations Bennett was not supposed to impart such knowledge. Presumably he was repaying Crowley for his hospitality. The latter also had access to the 5° = 6° rituals and copied them before he was properly entitled to see them. See *The Equinox*, I, ii, 1909, p. 294.

dull person indeed who failed to recognise the black, bilious rage that shook him to the soul. What hurt him was the knowledge of his own incomparable inferiority.'¹

Elsewhere in the *Confessions* he described Yeats as 'a lank dishevelled demonologist who might have taken more pains with his personal appearance without incurring the reproach of dandyism'.² He even imagined that Yeats used black magical practices in order to 'destroy' him. This hallucination refers to the period during 1899 when Allan Bennett was staying with him at Chancery Lane.

Whilst deep in these magical practices his [i.e. Crowley's] house in London became charged with such an aura of evil that it was scarcely safe to visit it. This was not due to P[erdurabo]'s own experiments, we have to consider the evil work of others in the Order, such as E.F.E.J., who, envious of his progress and favour with the Chiefs, were attempting to destroy him.³

While Crowley disliked Yeats he admired Florence Farr. There was 'one charming and intelligent woman,' he wrote, 'Mrs. Emery, for whom I always felt an affectionate respect tempered by the feeling that her abilities were so inferior to her aspirations'.⁴

After a long search for a suitably secluded house for the preparations for the 'Abra-Melin Operation' Crowley found one at Boleskine, on Loch Ness, in August 1899. He moved there from Chancery Lane in October or November 1899.

It was at about this time that he arranged for Allan Bennett to emigrate to Ceylon where, it was hoped, the warm climate would cure his asthma. Bennett probably left England early in 1900. He became a Buddhist monk and left 'Ceremonial Magick' behind him.

Until now Frater Perdurabo had been an unimportant member of the Order. It is likely, however, that Florence Farr and others in the Isis-Urania Temple had already reached the conclusion that they had

¹ *ibid.*, p. 166. See also Crowley's short story 'At the Fork of the Roads' in *The Equinox*, I, i, 1909, where Yeats appears as 'Will Bute ... not only a poetaster but a dabbler in magic, and black jealousy of a younger man and a far finer poet gnawed at his petty heart.' There are also disobliging references to Gates, i.e. Yeats, in Crowley's novel *Moonchild*, 1929.

² *ibid.*, p. 177.

³ The accusation against E.F.E.J. was published in *The Equinox*, I, iii, March 1910, p. 205. A copy of this volume (now at the Warburg Institute, University of London), annotated by Crowley, identifies E.F.E.J. as Yeats. In the case of this and other marginal glosses initials representing Order mottoes were represented by the next letter in the alphabet.

⁴ *Confessions*, p. 177.

admitted a devious young man who was likely to cause trouble. By the end of 1899 they had decided that his presence in the Second Order was undesirable. The exact date when Crowley learned of his rejection is unknown.

Mathers, as we shall learn in the next chapter, thought more highly of his fellow Celt, for by now Edward Alexander Crowley (to quote his baptismal names) had become Aleister MacGregor, Laird of Boleskine.

On 11 June 1900 T. H. Pattinson, the Emperor of the Horus Temple at Bradford, signed a declaration which Westcott had carefully drafted in his own handwriting. In this document it was stated that Mathers's hostility towards Westcott was unjustified. It was recorded, too, that Mathers had been Pattinson's guest for a week or two in 1898 and that the Chief had attacked Westcott. Pattinson recalled, or rather Westcott did so on his behalf, that Pattinson had told Mathers that he 'would not permit such unfair, unjust and unfraternal attacks on his old friend'.

This reference to Mathers's unfriendly attitude probably explains why Westcott found it advisable on 12 September 1898 to procure a signed and witnessed declaration from Albert Essinger, who described himself as a director of the Sanitary Wood Wool Company Ltd, to the effect that

during the years 1887 and 1888 I assisted Dr. William Wynn Westcott with a German correspondence, translated German letters and wrote letters in German for him to correspondents in Germany regarding the possession by Dr. William Wynn Westcott of Rosicrucian papers and the granting of grades and titles in the Rosicrucian Order to him and his nominees. All these letters were signed by mottoes in Latin on both sides and never by names, and there was never any mention of money nor reward to or for either party. I was not admitted to this Order or Society of students.

On the same day Mark Cubbon Rimmer, who was also employed by the Sanitary Wood Wool Company, signed a statement in which he said that he was aware that Essinger had helped Westcott with the correspondence in 1888.

... and I did at Dr. Westcott's request make a photographic copy of one page of curious manuscript in cypher or hiero-

glyphics, furthermore Dr. William Wynn Westcott was accustomed to receiving letters at the Sanitary Wood Wool Company addressed to him by mottoes as well as by name.

Westcott, as if apprehensive, was obviously consumed with curiosity about Mathers's doings, hence his request to Gardner on 18 September 1898: 'You might pump Kirby and F.E.R. [Annie Horniman] as to what they know about M. and his visit over here.' W. F. Kirby ('Genetho Phos') lived close to Gardner in Chiswick.

Since his involuntary retirement as Chief Adept in Anglia in 1897, Westcott had continued to run his own small private G.D. group. Initially its members were Gardner, Francis Wright, Mrs Kennedy and Reena Fulham-Hughes. By March 1898 the ladies had dropped out and Westcott formed another group which met at the Sanitary Wood Wool Company's offices at 26 Thavies Inn. Its other members were Gardner, Francis Wright and Colonel Webber Smith. Westcott still thought it inadvisable to work with women (see p. 182 above) and wrote to Gardner about this on 15 March 1898:

I have written to FeR [Annie Horniman] thanking for last report, and asking her to send written reports as before—but to you first. And for you to *hand* them to me, and so I shall have your notes on any different ideas, concerning little details. I feel a curious occult necessity not to act *directly*, with any Soror occultist, at present time.

This may refer to a similar private group, of which Annie Horniman and Gardner were both members, which had been meeting at a house in Talgarth Road, West Kensington, since at least September 1897. In spite of her expulsion from the Order, Annie Horniman was still quietly active in G.D. circles.

Mathers wrote to Annie Horniman on 18 October 1899 and offered a conditional reconciliation.

It is now about three years since I had to remove your name from the Roll of the G.D., for serious insubordination aggravated still further by slander against myself. In that period of time (even with every conceivable odds against me) I have completely overthrown the opposition in the Order which you left no stone unturned to stimulate and you can now do me no further harm...

You have had abundant time for reflection in the past three years; and considering your punishment to have been severe,

though necessary . . . I am willing to give you another chance. What I will do, therefore, on condition of your signing the accompanying paper and restoring it to me, is this:

I will *not* attach you to London; but I will permit you to retain your rank of Honorary Member of Ahathoor Temple No. 7, Paris, which was conferred on you by me when you acted as its Consecrating Officer at 1 Avenue Duquesne; this will have the double advantage of enabling you to visit other Temples occasionally, and save your having to pay a subscription to any of them.

But I will permit you to have back your manuscripts and implements; though for a time I will only authorise you to attend First Order Meetings until I can see whether you understand that which you have not yet understood.

Annie Horniman did not sign the short document in which she was required to acknowledge and respect Mathers's authority 'as Supreme Chief of the Second Order in all matters concerning the First and Second Orders'. Instead, on 19 October she sent him a telegram: 'I am awaiting honourable message from our Chiefs!' Mathers replied by telegram the same day: 'You are cruelly deceived you have never known as Westcott has never known any chief higher than myself I can prove this DDCF.'

She sent the correspondence to Westcott who wrote to her on 21 October 1899:

. . . I have never claimed to be a more learned or advanced one than he [i.e. Mathers]—nor have I ever claimed to know or act under the Higher Chiefs he has referred to as now behind him. If you are anxious to regain your old position you must accept his terms—if not you can remain in abeyance. But I should advise you not to enter upon a quarrel with him in any case.

Annie Horniman preferred to remain 'in abeyance'.

A few weeks later Mathers peremptorily suspended Gardner from the Order. On 13 November 1899 he wrote to Mathers and threatened to publish certain unspecified manuscripts written by Mathers in order to liquidate the Chief's financial indebtedness to him (see p. 188 above). Since this plan would have meant a further outlay for printing, etc. Gardner was probably bluffing. Mathers swallowed the bait and wrote to him on 8 December 1899:

In view of your recent conduct, and your menace of publication

of certain MSS, I hereby *suspend* you from all participation in either the First or Second Orders of the G.D. in the Outer, or the R.R. et A.C. And I enjoin you to return all the MSS. and Implements relating in any way to these Orders to me at once, addressed:

MacGregor,
c/o Todd, Dennes and Lamb (Solicitors)
22 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

And I also forbid you to publish the copy of the 'Splendor Solis', which I permitted you to have made from my own private MS.

Gardner did publish a translation of the 'Splendor Solis', perhaps in c. 1907—I have never seen a copy. Mathers mentioned it in a letter dated 31 December 1907:

It is now a very long time since I heard from you or had any communication with you.

I should be glad to know how the 'Sacred Magic of Abramelin' stands with regard to sale and the number of copies in hand.

I noticed some time since that you had advertised the translation of the 'Splendor Solis' for sale. You will probably remember that this was copied from my own manuscript which I had allowed Bullock to lend you. I do not object to your selling it, but I think you should have consulted me thereon.¹

Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), the creator of Sherlock Holmes, described his encounters in 1898 with two members of the G.D., Dr Henry Pullen Burry and Dr R. W. Felkin, in an article on 'Early Psychic Experiences' which was published in *Pearson's Magazine*, March 1924.

'There was a small doctor dwelling near me, small in stature, and also I fear, in practice. Pullen Bury [*sic*] was the name. He was a student of the occult, and my curiosity was aroused by learning that he had one room in his house which no one entered but himself, as it was reserved for mystic and philosophic purposes.'²

¹ The letter was written on notepaper adorned with a coronet above the initial M and signed 'MacGregor, Comte de Glenstrae'. A previous address, 4 Rue de la Source, Passy-Auteuil, Paris, was deleted and Mathers wrote from Aux Gressets, par la Celle-Saint-Cloud, Seine-et-Oise.

² Professor Josephine Johnson, who is writing a biography of Florence Farr, told me that her sister Henrietta Paget had a similar 'secret' room.

Pullen Burry suggested that Conan Doyle should join the G.D. but did not reveal its name. Conan Doyle described an unusual dream which he appeared to equate with an 'astral visit' made by some member of the Order to discover whether or not he was a suitable candidate. He decided not to ask for admission. A month or two later Pullen Burry brought Felkin to see him. The article records his two visitors' extraordinary conversation about an 'astral journey' they had made together to Central Africa. Conan Doyle recalled:

'To return to the little doctor, he went out to the Klondyke and I lost sight of him for a long time. From what I learnt I should judge that the powers of this society included that of loosening their own etheric bodies, in summoning the etheric bodies of others (mine for example) and in making thought images . . . in the way that we are assured is possible by will power. But their line of development or philosophy is beyond me. I was destined to meet Pullen Burry again, for when I was in America last year I found him full of Rosicrucian lore and occult knowledge.

Westcott referred to the article in a letter to F. L. Gardner (17 April 1924): 'It was all about the G.D. but both [i.e. Pullen Burry and Felkin] appear to have spoken in a wild manner.' He also mentioned the reason for Pullen Burry's departure to the U.S.A. He had deserted his wife and children and Annie Horniman came to their rescue financially.

What Mathers called his 'Isis Movement' had no connection with the G.D. It reflected his long-standing interest in the mystery religion of Ancient Egypt. The Rite of Isis, which was a kind of theatrical performance, incorporated material that he had discovered in the available literature. According to a report in the *Sunday Chronicle* of 19 March 1899, 'for some time past they [i.e. Mathers and Vestigia] have been carrying on their devotions in an underground chapel which they have established at their residence'.

The Rite and its authors were in due course 'discovered' by Jules Bois, Mathers's journalist friend who had a detailed knowledge of Paris's occult 'underground', and it was he who persuaded them to give a public performance of the Rite at the Bodinière Theatre in the Rue Saint-Lazare in March 1899.¹ According to the Paris correspondent

¹ The Bodinière Theatre was a small house which could be hired for single performances and lectures. For instance Madame A. de Thèbes, the well-known fortune-teller, discoursed there on palmistry on 4 April 1900.

of the *Sunday Chronicle*, they had 'a crowded audience, composed chiefly of lovers of mysticism'. Monsieur Bois was there and 'made a very laudable effort to explain this ancient and somewhat complicated religion to us, and then endeavoured to justify this transfer of the ceremony of worshipping and invoking Isis to the theatrical surroundings of the Bodinière'.

The following brief account of the performance by Frederic Lees is taken from the New York periodical the *Humanist*, February 1900:

In the centre of the stage was the figure of Isis, on each side of her were other figures of gods and goddesses, and in front was the little altar, upon which was the ever-burning green stone lamp. The Hierophant Ramses [Mathers], holding in one hand the sistrum, which every now and then he shook, and in the other a spray of lotus, said the prayers before this altar, after which the High Priestess Anari [Vestigia] invoked the goddess in penetrating and passionate tones. Then followed the 'dance of the four elements' by a young Parisian lady, who, dressed in long white robes, had previously recited some verses in French in honour of Isis. A short time before this lady had become a convert. . . . Most of the ladies present in the fashionable Parisian audience brought offerings of flowers, whilst the gentlemen threw wheat on the altar. The ceremony was artistic in the extreme.

The *Sunday Chronicle's* correspondent was amused rather than impressed by Mathers's performance.

. . . when he opened his mouth to make his prayer to Isis we were astonished to note that he had a terrible English accent . . . He looked for all the world like a North Yorkshireman or a Scotchman. And, sure enough, when I made enquiries after the performance a braw Highlander he proved to be. M'Gregor is his name, but whence he comes I know not. They call him 'Count M'Gregor' in one of the French newspapers, but this, M. Jules Bois says, is a mistake. 'Monsieur M'Gregor is only the chief of an old Scottish clan!' Really! How delightfully they mix things up on this side of the channel . . . His wife, on the other hand, completely won their sympathy by her graceful attitude and dignified manner. More than that, she is very handsome, she has a beautiful oval face with large black, mysterious eyes—and beauty always tells in Paris.

There is also an interesting description of a private Isis function in two articles, 'Isis à Montmartre', by André Gaucher in the periodical *L'Echo du merveilleux*, Paris, 1 and 15 December 1900.

For a brief period Mathers's Rite of Isis provided Parisians with an interesting novelty. He appears to have hoped that the 'Isis movement' would be capable of expansion. Hence his pleasure when a Mr and Mrs Horos, who were accompanied by a Dr Rose Adams, called at his house in the Rue Mozart and offered their assistance. His acquaintance with them was brief and disastrous.

* * *

Rebellion in London

Early in 1900, possibly in January but certainly before 16 February, Mathers received three visitors at 87 Rue Mozart. Wise after the event, he recalled his unfortunate experiences with them in a letter written to W. B. Yeats on 12 January 1901:

With regard to these persons, viz:- Swami Vive Ananda, alias Marie Louise of the Commune, alias Mrs. Horos, alias Mrs. Dutton, alias perhaps Mrs. Johnson! Mr. Theo Horos, alias Mr. Dutton, [and] Dr. Rose Adams: these three persons came to us some time ago with an introduction from a well known person here the Countess de Maffroy (whom you very likely met at Mrs. Rowley's when you were accepting my hospitality at 1 Avenue Duquesne). They had taken a large furnished flat at 10 Rue Lauriston. They stated they had come to help us with our Isis movement here. The woman gave me the motto of 'Sapiens dominabitur astris'; and I have yet to learn where she got the knowledge of the Grades up to 5° = 6° from, which she *then* had.¹ She presented the other two to me and vouched for them as 4° = 7° and 2° = 9° in America.² They were present at one if not two meetings of Ahathoor Temple (but I think only one); and borrowed some Rituals from me as well as other things and books which they have not yet returned. So far from giving me 'hundreds of pounds' (for the Isis movement), it was I who helped them with what little I had, for I offered all three as much hospitality as I could when I saw that getting meals was an object to them. They had to leave Rue Lauriston as their trunks were seized for rent; but a few weeks later they came to

¹ Charles Rosher ('Aequo Animo') told Aleister Crowley that Mrs Horos had probably learned everything she knew about the G.D. from American members of the Order whom she had previously met in New York. See *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, p. 265n. The Americans would have been initiated by Mathers in Paris.

² The implication is that there was already a G.D. Temple in the U.S.A., but no details are available.

Paris and paid enough to take them away. They also called on me several times but I would not receive them.

For the woman; she is probably the most powerful medium living and her mediumship differs from the usual. At times she has been controlled by very great and high forces, but much more frequently by evil spirits. For she is frequently a shell without honour, truth, or morality . . . I believe her and her accomplices to be emissaries of a *very powerful* secret Occult Order who have been trying for years to break up other Orders and especially my work, and the G.D. as connected therewith.

I may tell you that on more than one occasion I conversed face to face with the *real* 'Sapiens dominabitur astris [i.e. Fräulein Sprengel] in this woman; but on another occasion I detected a demoniac simulacrum of that transformation, as since I have detected also on one or two occasions, for the entity of Mrs. Horos has been like a battle between two Orders.

Initially then, Mathers was convinced that Mrs Horos was none other than the German Adept Fräulein Sprengel, who was not dead, as he had supposed, but apparently very much alive. He told Aleister Crowley that the bogus S.D.A. had 'related to him details of a very private conversation he had had with Madame Blavatsky at Denmark Hill', that he believed that she 'possessed the power of changing her appearance from age to youth and *vice versa*', and that he thought 'that the real H. P. Blavatsky and the real S.D.A. can reincarnate in her'.¹ In short, while Mathers soon realised that Mrs Horos and her companions were swindlers, he never doubted her mediumistic gifts.

R. B. Nisbet ('Ex Animo'), a British member of Mathers's Ahathoor Temple, called upon Westcott on c. 15 June 1900 and told him about the Horos couple. Westcott made some notes which need not be quoted at length here.

They seemed Americans, she was a very stout fair lady of 60, resembling Mrs. Tingley [the American Theosophical leader], she also called herself Swami Vivekananda [*sic*], but gave no real name. She was introduced to Mathers who took her up and introduced her to an Ahathoor Temple meeting as a great foreign G.D. member who belonged to Ihmē Temple No. 8 in America. He said she was known as Sap. Dom. Ast. and was not dead as S.A. [Westcott] made out. Nisbet saw her several times and she told Nisbet that she was an $8^{\circ} = 3^{\circ}$ and he had asked

¹ See *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, pp. 259 et seq.

Mathers if that was true, and he answered that he would tell Nisbet in a few days. He did not do so. Mathers lent her all the First Order Rituals.

Finally there is some additional information in a letter written by Helen Rand ('Vigilate') to Annie Horniman on 10 October 1900.

. . . this, as far as my memory serves, is briefly an account of the undoing of a $7 = 4$ [Mathers] by a bogus $8 = 3$ [Mrs Horos] . . . The lady herself was about sixty years of age and of extremely stout figure but withal of gracious and attractive manner. Her husband was about thirty years her junior and made much less pretensions to occult knowledge. Madame Horos explained her great stoutness by saying she had absorbed Madame Blavatsky's spirit on the physical death of that lady and that had occasioned her swelling to such dimensions. Apparently D.D.C.F. [Mathers] accepted her description of herself as an $8 = 3$ and on the strength of her being in Paris he wrote [a] letter to London in which he described Sap. dom. ast. as then working with him in Paris. . . . During the early part of the Horos episode D.D.C.F. and Vestigia were radiant over what they thought was the probability in the near future of the consummation of their schemes for the introduction of Isis-Worship in Paris.

In December 1900 Westcott, Gardner and Percy Bullock all had brief personal encounters with the Horos couple, who appear to have been attempting to penetrate the Order in London. The ultimate Horos scandal, in which the G.D. was unpleasantly involved, came a year later.

In February 1900, at the time when Mr and Mrs Horos were making a fool of Mathers, at Boleskine in the Highlands of Scotland Frater Perdurabo, otherwise Aleister Crowley, aged twenty-four, was beginning to write a day-to-day account of the progress of the Abramelin operation.¹ From this chaotic document I have extracted only material relating to Crowley's movements during the first four months of 1900. On Saturday, 24 February 1900, he wrote:

It is here fitting that I record the singular train of events occurring from Nov. '99 to date.

¹ 'The Book of the Operation of the Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage, being the account of the events of my life, with notes on this Operation by Perdurabo, an humble Aspirant thereto.' I have used the typescript (Gerald Yorke Collection) copied from the MS. notebook in the possession of Dr J. P. Kowal (U.S.A.).

1. Shortly after my Great Trouble, Laura [unidentified] warns me that I am in danger from the police. This [message] from astral [plane or source]; but she received an anonymous letter before coming here warning her that I 'was about to be in trouble' (and therefore she had better not be mixed up in it).

2. I went to town and saw I.A. [Allan Bennett] (very ill). Called on Evelyn Hall (out) and left a note giving my address (H[otel] C[ecil]. (Jan. 11 Thursday).

Met Evelyn H[all] accidentally by U.C.L. [University College London?]. She reaffirms her statements: but her description of the 'college chum' is absurd and her whole attitude ridiculous. She knows one fact only—the name Crowley at Cambridge.

Saturday [13 January 1900] I went to V[olo] N[oscere—G. C. Jones] over Sunday and Monday saw I.A. [Allan Bennett] till 7 o'clock. This day Monday 15th at 7 p.m. I got (at H.C.) two letters from Evelyn. These say: you (and all your friends at 67 [Chancery Lane]) are watched by the police. This is connected with 'the brother of a college chum' but no doubt can be entertained of the meaning of the hints. I caught the night boat to Paris, as I had originally intended.

The allusions to his 'Great Trouble' and being watched by the police probably refer to an impending homosexual scandal in which he and others were involved.¹ The initials H.C. refer to the Hotel Cecil in the Strand, which Crowley then frequented.

By now he was aware that the London Chiefs would not admit him to the Second Order. Mathers, on the other hand, was prepared to ignore their objections, hence his journey to Paris on Monday 15 January 1900. The 'diary' continues:

3. Tuesday [16 January] I am admitted to the Glory of Tiphareth [i.e. the Second Order]. During this week I asked S.R. [Mathers] to judge the astrological figure of the time of reading the aforesaid letters. He says: the news is true but you (Saturn on the cusp of Capricorn) are very strong and the end of the matter is good. He advises me to avoid London. I may be in Cambridge only for a few days. By the Godselim symbol I invoke the great Names of God the Vast One, and reach town safely.

¹ See the veiled reference to a homosexual relationship with Herbert Pollitt at Cambridge in *Confessions*, p. 142 et seq.

4. I.A. [Allan Bennett] and O.E.[ckenstein] jeer at my alarms: for knowing already how Aweful are the forces leagued against me, I am not surprised at these troubles: neither do I fear them, yet to find me might spoil my plans. On regaining the thorny bosom of Alma Mater [Cambridge], I meet Fra. Gnōthi Seauton [W. E. H. Humphrys]. He goes much further: but is even more mysterious than Evelyn Hall. He says: yes, you are 'wanted' though he thinks [two words deleted]: and adds: 'The danger is most pressing just before Easter.' (Humphreys [sic] is certainly at this time manoeuvring to get me out of the way). I wrote to V.N. [G.C.Jones] asking his help. He thinks I am mad or obsessed! I use the Moon pantacle in the Key of Solomon and reach Boleskine in safety Feb. 7.

Back in Scotland he wrote to Miss Maud Cracknell ('Tempus Omnia Revelat'), the assistant secretary of the Second Order, and asked her to send him a number of Zelator Adeptus Minor manuscripts. It is likely that she sent him a brief reply and advised him to apply to her superior in the Second Order, who was Mrs E. A. Hunter ('Deo Date'). Years later he mentioned this correspondence in a letter to his American disciple C. S. Jones (Fratr Achad): 'Yes, I had applied for my papers to an ancient Sapphic [i.e. lesbian] Crack, unlikely to be filled,' he wrote, 'and recd. much later a letter from another Degenerate who called herself Deo Date.'

His letter to Mrs Hunter survives in the Private Collection. It was written on hand-made paper with the address and heraldic device die-stamped in gold. The latter, which incorporated two mottoes—"S Rioghal Mo Dhream" and 'E'en do and spare not'—was probably his own invention.

Cara V.H. Soror,

I am told that I must write to you for the MSS. of the Second Order of which I am now a member. [A list of the MSS. follows].

Now even where I have the MSS. I should like to compare my copies with the official ones, as Iehi Aour [Allan Bennett], who gave me his MSS. by permission, is rather apt to condense.

I ought to mention that my identity with one Aleister Crowley and one Count Svareff are not generally known; and, in the work on which I am now engaged (with the full approval of G.H. Fra. D.D.C.F. [Mathers]) it would be very dangerous for me if

everybody (even in the Order) knew this. So I will ask you not to mention the fact.

I give you and Fra E. A. Hunter (I am ashamed to have forgotten his motto) the greetings of the Equinox.

With all fraternal greetings,

I am,

Perdurabo

(Aleister MacGregor)

During his recent Chancery Lane period Crowley had been calling himself Count Svareff. Now, perhaps as a compliment to Mathers, he had not only assumed the name MacGregor but was using Mathers's G.D. motto on his stationery. The fact that he sent Mrs Hunter 'the greetings of the Equinox' suggests that this letter was written shortly before 21 March 1900.

The magical 'diary' continues incoherently until Saturday 25 March when he recorded: 'Heard this evening from Deo Date. S[ecund] O[rder] apparently mad. Resolved to write to D.D.C.F. [Mathers] offering myself.'

It is likely that Crowley now learned for the first time that the Second Order in London did not recognise his recent 5° = 6° initiation in Paris, also that the London Adepts were rebelling against Mathers's dictatorial rule. The seeds of their revolt had been planted about five weeks earlier when Florence Farr received a letter from Mathers which not only astonished but shocked the few to whom she thought fit to show it.¹ Slighted by the London Second Order, Crowley forthwith involved himself in the dispute, naturally on Mathers's side. Many years later in his *Confessions* he explained why he wished to help Mathers.

My own attitude was unhampered by any ethical considerations. I had seen a good deal of Mathers personally. He was unquestionably a Magician of extraordinary attainment. He was a scholar and a gentleman. He had that habit of authority which inspires confidence because it never doubts itself. A man who can make such claims as he did cannot be judged by conventional codes and canons. Ordinary morality is for ordinary people . . . Then again, the whole of Mathers' conduct might have been in the

¹ The correspondence and other documents (16 February–26 April 1900) relating to the Second Order's imbroglio with Mathers were subsequently printed for circulation to members. This private publication was accompanied by a shorter printed 'Statement of Recent Events which have led to the present Constitution of the Second Order in London'. The latter contained a summary of the letters, etc.

nature of a test. It might have been his way of asking the adepts whether they had the power of concentrating on the spiritual situation, of giving up for ever all their prejudices.

Anyhow, as far as I was concerned, Mathers was my only link with the Secret Chiefs, to whom I was pledged. I wrote to him offering to place myself and my fortune unreservedly at his disposal; if that meant giving up the Abra-Melin operation for the present, all right.¹

A slightly different version will be found in *The Equinox*. It was the Secret Chiefs who sent Crowley to Paris.

At this juncture P[erdurabo], influenced so far as he himself knew, only by the impulse of self-sacrifice for the Order that had done so much for him; but, as is now apparent, secretly impelled by the true and unknown Chiefs of the Third Order, to put both the Order and the Chief to the test, crossed over to Paris and offered his services to D.D.C.F. [Mathers].²

It is unfortunate that we have no knowledge of the contents of the letter which Florence Farr wrote to Mathers in January 1900, and which caused the Chief to send her the communication printed below.

N.B.—Read this letter carefully before showing any part of it to anyone!

16 February 1900

C. et V.H. Soror S.S.D.D.

My time is just now so enormously occupied with the arrangements for the Buildings and Decorations of the Egyptian Temple of Isis in Paris, as well as other matters, that I *must* write as briefly as possible.

- (a) I have never wished to interfere in your private affairs, but if you choose to bring mine into a discussion in a Second Order Meeting, the matter concerns me as well as yourself.
- (b) As you did not date your letter to me, and as I received it on the 13th January, 1900, it was difficult for me to conceive that it had been written *after* instead of before the meeting on the twelfth. I possess a copy of the minutes of that meeting.

¹ *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley*, ed. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant, 1969, p. 258.

² *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, p. 258.

- (c) *I refuse definitely* to close Isis-Urania Temple, and am prepared to receive the resignations from their offices of those chiefs who no longer wish to serve as such. I can understand in your case, that in addition to your somewhat heavy work in the Second Order, holding office in Isis has been an additional load.
- (d) Now, with regard to the Second Order, it would be with the *very greatest regret* both from my personal regard for you, as well as from the occult standpoint that I should receive your Resignation as my Representative in the Second Order in London; but I cannot let you form a combination to make a schism therein with the idea of working secretly or avowedly under 'Sapere Aude' [i.e. Westcott], under the mistaken impression that he received an Epitome of Second Order work from G.H. Soror 'Sapiens Dominabitur Astris' [i.e. Fräulein Sprengel]. For this forces me to tell you plainly (and, understand me well, I can prove to the hilt every word which I here say and more, and were I confronted with S.A., I should say the same), though for the sake of the Order, and for the circumstance that it would mean so deadly a blow to S.A.'s reputation, I entreat you to keep this secret from the Order, for the present, at least, though you are at perfect liberty to show *him* this if you think fit, *after mature consideration*.
- (e) He has NEVER been *at any time* either in personal or in written communication with the Secret Chiefs of the Order, he having *either himself forged or procured to be forged* the professed correspondence between him and them, and my tongue having been tied all these years by a previous Oath of Secrecy to him, demanded by him, from me, before showing me what he had either done or caused to be done or both.—You must comprehend from what little I say here, the *extreme gravity* of such a matter, and again I ask you, both for his sake and that of the Order, not to force me to go farther into the subject.

I again reiterate that *every atom* of the knowledge of the Order has come *through me alone* from 0-0 to 5-6 inclusive, and that it is I alone who have been and am in communication with the Secret Chiefs of the Order.

I may further remark that 'Sapiens dominabitur astris' [i.e.

Mrs Horos!] is now in Paris and aiding me with the Isis movement.

Lastly, I again ask you to consider well this letter, and not to put me in such a position that I shall be compelled to act publicly.

Yours in fraternity and sincerity,

Deo Duce Comite Ferro

7° = 4°

Chief of the Second Order

When Florence Farr received Mathers's letter, probably not later than Monday, 19 February 1900, she went to the country to think things over. The implications were serious. If, indeed, Westcott had faked the Anna Sprengel letters, then the supposed German 'authority' for starting the G.D. in England was an invention and the Order had been built upon a foundation of sand. Again, if Mathers had always known of the alleged deception, who could be trusted? She did not reveal the letter's contents to anyone until Saturday, 3 March. In the meantime Westcott was unaware of the storm ahead. He wrote to Gardner on 20 February:

I had a note from Robert Scott [unidentified] last week speaking of an important Hermetic meeting to decide whether to keep the Lodge [i.e. the Isis-Urania Temple] open or not and asking me to become Chief, but I am not in the humour to get mixed up again, as Mathers is so erratic, so I wrote and said I could not attend nor take up office in the Society again . . . Please let me know, if you can find out, what decision the Herm[etic] people come to.

In a later letter to Gardner, dated 16 March, in which he mainly discussed astrological techniques, Westcott indicated that he was still ignorant of what was afoot. 'I have had no letter nor news of any one of a Theosophical [i.e. G.D.] character,' he wrote.

Florence Farr eventually arranged a strictly private meeting with Mr and Mrs E. A. Hunter, W. B. Yeats, Marcus Worsley Blackden and Percy Bullock. In the meantime the latter had moved to 69 Thornton Avenue, Bedford Park. George Cecil Jones had been asked to attend but could not be present. Three of them formed a provisional secret committee to consider the situation, but soon co-opted four more members. Bullock wrote briefly about this to Mathers on 4 March and asked him to prove his allegations.

Mathers did not reply to Bullock's letter. The latter wrote to him again on 18 March:

I am requested to say that your statements respecting forgeries by G.H. Fra. N[on] O[mnis] M[oriar], appearing likely to shake the confidence of the whole Second Order in some of its fundamental traditions, it appeared best in the first instance to confine the consideration of the matter exclusively to the seven members whose names I have indicated.

We find ourselves in the position of having lent ourselves—and such influence as our long connection with the Order may constitute—to the dissemination of ideas, traditions or actual teaching to others who have come into the Order after us, and it is consequently with deep concern that we now gather reflection is cast on some of them—a state of mind contributed to by the uncertainty at present surrounding the matter.

If therefore you can see your way to accede to our suggestion (made in response to your offer to prove the matter completely) we shall all feel at least assured and be able to deliberate, if need be, in conjunction with yourself as to the desirability of taking further action, in order to place the Order on its true basis.

Bullock's letter crossed one from Mathers to Florence Farr, also written on 18 March.

I approve your choice of officers for the ensuing 6 months for Isis-Urania Temple No. 3 . . . I in no way recognise any Committee formed by you to consider my *private* letter to you concerning the matter upon which I wrote; and I shall not discuss the matter further for the present unless I deem it advisable to do so.

All these complications could have been avoided had you written me an open straightforward letter at the beginning of the year, saying you wished to retire from office.

I duly received Mrs. — and her daughter's resignations, which are just as well.

Yeats called upon Westcott, probably on Tuesday, 20 March, and told him that he represented a committee but declined to reveal the names of his colleagues. Westcott already knew about Mathers's accusation because in a private memorandum containing a brief record of Yeats's visit he mentioned that his lawyer had advised him

to 'abstain from any statement until compelled to enter into controversy'. He wrote to Yeats, again probably on 20 March:

Private, to the Committee on which Frater W. B. Yeats is acting.

Dear Sir, and Frater Yeats;

You and your fellows are in possession of a mass of most valuable occult science which you learned in the lodges of the G.D. Hermetic Society.

Woodman, Mathers and Westcott have put you in the way of obtaining this. You have each, before entering the Second Order *expressed in writing* your approval of that teaching, and have sworn to keep it, and the Rituals, Lectures and Proceedings *all Secret* from the world.

You cannot now turn back and say you did not approve the teachings we provided.

Speaking *legally* I find I cannot prove the details of the origin of the knowledge and history of the G.D., so I should not be just nor wise to bias your opinion of them.

Mr. M. may insinuate and claim the authorship because I cannot disprove him. How can I say *anything* now, because if I accepted this new story, then Mrs. Woodman would rightly charge me with slandering her dead husband's reputation, for he was answerable for the original history; and if I say M.'s new story is wrong I shall be open to violent attack by him and I shall have to suffer his persecution.

I must allow you to judge us both to the best of your judgment, and to decide on your responsibility.

I remain,

Yours fraternally,

W. W. Westcott

Westcott could have offered to produce Albert Essinger's letter but did not do so. As for Woodman, it is unlikely that he was 'answerable for the original history', i.e. the 'History for Neophytes, 1888' MS., since Westcott admitted at various times that he himself had written it.

The Committee met on Thursday, 22 March. Yeats reported on his visit to Westcott and read the latter's letter. 'After discussion it was decided to dispatch a telegram to G.H. Frater D.D.C.F. [Mathers] first thing tomorrow morning, as follows, viz. "Your charges come

before Second Order tomorrow [Saturday 24 March] four o'clock headquarters. Your presence peculiarly desirable".'

Needless to say, Mathers was not present at the meeting at 36 Blythe Road. He wrote to Florence Farr on 23 March:

My letter was a personal one to you, I did not empower you to form any Committee for its consideration, and I refuse to recognise such Committee. I forbid the meeting of the Second Order called for tomorrow; and I charge you on your pledge of obedience to me as a Theoricus Adept to abstain from further action in the matter.

I, furthermore, remove you from your position as my Representative in the Second Order in London, for I can no longer feel confidence in you as such.

The Second Order's meeting was held on the Saturday afternoon and the membership of the committee was confirmed. It now officially consisted of Florence Farr, W. B. Yeats, Mr and Mrs E. A. Hunter, Marcus Worsley Blackden, Percy Bullock and G. C. Jones. It was also resolved 'that all official work or actions of the Order, apart from the special work of the Committee and such part of the routine work of the Order as they may think desirable, be suspended until the Committee report'. Percy Bullock appears to have been appointed as the committee's secretary. He wrote to Mathers that same evening:

It is unfortunate that you did not mark your letter to S.S.D.D. 'private' in the first instance; now however, that it has been freely disclosed within the Second Order, members feel—and I am bound to say that I concur in the view—that the constitutive warrant upon which the Order was originally founded is impugned, because the correspondence which now turns out to be forged (and which I and others remember quite clearly) led up to the warrant, granting it in fact to the original three chiefs.

Abstention on our part to follow the matter up, would clearly be the equivalent to compounding a felony, and the universal feeling is—and here again I cannot refuse my concurrence—that no obligation subversive of morality can be binding whether by natural law or the law of the Land. . . .

One more thing I wish to point out as regards myself, and that is that the correspondence in question, shown to me as it was, years ago, was not without its influence upon my mind,

assuring me (as I considered) in some positive measure of the existence of the secret Chiefs of the Order; indeed, as I analyse these impressions, I find they were almost exclusively derived from that source. Certainly this was so in the earlier stages . . . As a piece of historical evidence, I know I have often mentioned the matter of these letters and their contents to others in the Second Order both before and since their withdrawal, and to that extent at least, have unwittingly assisted in the perpetuation of the deception. To such, in justice to myself, I owe the duty of a correction.

At this stage, in default of any proof to the contrary by Westcott, Bullock accepted the proposition that the Anna Sprengel letters had been forged. It is interesting to note that whereas they had once been accessible in the Second Order archives, they had clearly been removed by Westcott.

The Committee met again on 29 March. In the meantime Percy Bullock had visited Westcott but did not learn anything very useful.

Fra. L.O. reports having seen V.H. Fra. S.A., who gave his honourable assurance that for anything he knew to the contrary the German lady, Fräulein Sprengel, the author of the letters alleged to be forged by him (S.A.) was the person she purported to be; his communications with her had only been by letter, and he had bona fide posted letters to her in Germany and received letters in reply.

Bullock must have sent Mathers a copy of the minutes of the committee meeting held on 29 March. The Chief wrote to him on 2 April and threatened to request the Secret Chiefs to prepare the 'Punitive Current' against the London rebels. They had learned about this awful instrument in the o° = o° Neophyte initiation ceremony, i.e. that in the event of very severe misconduct they could expect to be at the receiving end of 'a deadly and hostile Current of Will set in motion by the Chiefs of the Order by which I should fall slain or paralysed without visible weapon, as if blasted by the Lightning Flash'.

I do *not* recognise the right of the Second Order either to elect a Committee without my authorization and consent, or to take upon themselves the responsibility [of] arresting the work of the Order, save and only by my direct commands. I *annul* the Committee and I *annul* the Resolutions passed at the

meeting of the 24th March, 1900. I cannot therefore accept your report of that meeting, and I return you herewith the typewritten copy of its proceedings which you sent me.

I stand by my manifesto issued to the Theorici Adepti on Thursday, October 29th, 1896, after the comprehension of which each Theoricus Adept sent me a written Declaration of allegiance which I have kept as a pleasing memento of fidelity to their engagements, that of 'De Profundis Ad Lucem' [Gardner] is specially of value in view of the line of action he has recently taken.¹

I have always acknowledged and shall always maintain the authority of the Secret Chiefs of the Order, to whom and the Eternal Gods I bow, but to *none* beside!

I know to a nicety the capacities of my human brain and intelligence and what these can of themselves grasp, and I therefore know also when the Forces of the Beyond, and the Presences of the Infinite manifest, and when the Great Adepts of this Planet, the Secret Chiefs of the Order are with me.

Do you imagine that where such men as Court de Gebelin, Etteilla, Christian and Levi failed in their endeavour to discover the Tarot attributions that I would be able of my own power and intelligence *alone* to lift the veil which has baffled *them*.²

You have seen the development of the Theosophical Society, and that since the death of Madame Blavatsky nothing but turmoil and strife have arisen, and that that association is tottering to its fall. And I tell you plainly that were it *possible* to remove me from my place as the Visible Head of our Order (the which *cannot* be without my own consent, because of certain magical links) you would find nothing but disruption and trouble falling upon you all until you had expiated so severe a Karma as that of opposing a current sent at the end of a century to regenerate a Planet.

And for the first time since I have been connected with the Order, I shall formulate my request to Highest Chiefs for the Punitive Current to be prepared, to be directed against those who rebel; should they consider it (after examination of the Status of the London Order) advisable.

¹ The text of the manifesto will be found on pp. 127-33. The reference to F. L. Gardner was clearly intended to be ironical.

² At this point the document includes a footnote contributed by Florence Farr: 'These attributions are given in the Cypher MSS., and were not found through D.D.C.F.'s lifting the veil, whether alone or otherwise.—S.S.D.D.'

Some of you have been pleased to remark that I have condoned a felony. I would sooner condone any number of offences against the Law of Man, than I would fail in the first duty of an Occultist, which is Fraternity and Fidelity, and it is the want of these in the English Order which has been the root of all mischief.

It is a very easy thing for you to ask 'Sapere Aude' [i.e. Westcott] for the address of 'Sapiens dominabitur astris', and find out if she lived there, Fräulein Sprengel I think he said her name was, and I believe the address he gave was Ulm, Heidelberg or Nuremburg, also it should be easy to get from him the copy of the correspondence which he retired. But I have nothing to do with all this, and 'S.S.D.D.' [i.e. Florence Farr] has acted injudiciously in making my letter to her as my representative a lever for increasing dissension in the Order.

I thank you, as always, for your courteous manner of writing, and you have my best wishes.

I have been and am so occupied that I could not answer your letter before. Athor [*sic*, i.e. Ahathoor] Temple alone takes much of my time and it is increasing rapidly in numbers.

There is no evidence that the committee ever asked Westcott to make the Fräulein Sprengel letters available for inspection. Alternatively, if such a request was made, Westcott was uncooperative. By the middle of April the committee had turned its attention to the original cypher manuscripts and asked if they could be loaned for inspection. There are references to this plan in two letters written by Westcott to Gardner. The first was postmarked 14 April 1900.

The Committee to investigate the G.D. which contains Yeats, Bullock and I suppose Ayton, have wanted to borrow the Cypher MSS. to look at: I make no objection, but I ask for Protection and I think the Committee should indemnify me, if I lend at their *request*, without prejudice.

The Comm. asked me not to tell anyone; but if *they split*, one can't tell what may happen. Send me any news at the Cor[oner's] office, Calvert Avenue, E.

In his next letter, which was undated, Westcott wrote:

In the present unsettled state of affairs I think it would be a good plan to get a letter of attestation from Revd. Ayton—as to those MSS. He has more real familiarity with MSS. in

studying them, than any one in the Order. I propose to ask you to take them to him on loan, for examination and report.

They are of paper 1806 and 1809, I observe . . .¹

I understand that Br. L.O. [Percy Bullock] was also desirous of borrowing the MSS. and helping my case, but has since declined. Query why? If you see him don't let him think I told you. I have destroyed your letter.

Bullock did, in fact, ask for the Cypher MSS., not for himself but for the committee. Westcott wrote to him and, as was his custom at this time, did not date his letter.

My conditions on thus granting the request are, that you will obtain a statement as to whether the MSS. are deemed to be of an earlier (or a later) date than 1882, when I first met Mr. M[athers]; and that you will procure for me and supply to me legally attested copies of such letters of Mr. M. as defame my character, and such as shew his extraordinary claims to eminence and to a right to supersede the general rights and duties of ordinary men: for the possession of such evidence may enable me to parry any further attack. I must either have such letters, or attested copies, or a legal undertaking to produce the originals of the copies sent. I will undertake not to use them, except in self defence.

The Committee soon had something more important than the Cypher manuscript to occupy its time, because on Tuesday, 17 April, Aleister Crowley appeared at 36 Blythe Road and, acting as Mathers's plenipotentiary, briefly 'captured' the Vault of the Adepts.

¹ A few of the sheets bear an 1809 watermark; I found none dated 1806.



The Battle of Blythe Road

It has already been recorded (on p. 208) that on Saturday 25 March 1900 Aleister Crowley received a letter from Mrs E. A. Hunter ('Deo Date') from which he learned that the London Second Order did not recognise his recent 5° = 6° initiation in Paris and was in a state of rebellion against Mathers. In his Abra-Melin notebook Crowley wrote: 'Resolved to write to D.D.C.F. [Mathers] offering myself.'

But first the Tarot cards were consulted and the notebook mentions this divination: 'Shall I go to London re S[second] O[rder]? Fortune and hope to the Universe. The Emperor? [i.e. Mathers]. The fortune of the Emperor will change. Hope that reconciliation will avert destruction by fire . . . Good fortune and unexpected help in the matter.' Another passage reads: 'I leave for London Monday: as it is written: "His Face was fixed as a Flint to go unto Jerusalem".' Frater Perdurabo arrived in London on Tuesday 3 April.

Tuesday. Go to E[ritis] S[imilis] D[eo]. Bring him back and trap Gnōthi Seauton [W. E. H. Humphrys] in attempting Laura. He seems nearly as big a blackguard as myself. I misbehave as usual. O Lord, how long?

Frater E.S.D. was Gerald Kelly, the painter, his contemporary at Cambridge and the brother of Rose Kelly, who was to be Crowley's first wife. Kelly, later Sir Gerald Kelly and President of the Royal Academy, was initiated on 31 October 1899. It is unlikely that he ever went further than the Neophyte grade.

According to the notebook Crowley met G. C. Jones on the Wednesday and Julian Baker two days later on 5 April. They were his oldest friends in the Order. Then, on Saturday 6 April he reconnoitred the Second Order's premises at 36 Blythe Road.

Find Vault locked . . . D.D.C.F. [Mathers]'s letter forwarded to me. Fidelis [Miss Elaine Simpson] appoints Sunday morning [for a meeting]. D.D.C.F. accepts my services.

Miss Maud Cracknell, the 'ancient Sapphic Crack, unlikely to be filled', was on duty at Blythe Road and immediately wrote to an unidentified Frater, probably Mr Hunter ('Hora Et Semper').

I have just had a visit from 'Perdurabo' and he wanted to go into the Vault. I told him it was closed by order of the Committee and no one could go in without the consent of the Committee. He asked if I had a key and I said I was a new member and had never had a private key, but he asked if I could go in myself and I said 'No', which is not true.

I told him he had better go to Mrs. Emery [Florence Farr], or you or Mr. Blackden, and he said he should come to you.

Mrs. Emery told me to telegraph you if anything happened, but I did not think it necessary in this case.

Miss Elaine Simpson ('Donorum Dei Dispensatio Fidelis') was the daughter of Soror Perseverantia et Cura Quies, generally known as Perseverantia. Crowley recalled her many years later in his *Confessions*: 'My sister Fidelis was cursed with a horrible mother, a sixth-rate singer, a first-rate snob, with dewlaps, a paunch, a match-maker, mischief-maker, maudlin and muddle-headed.'¹

The reason for his rendezvous with Soror Fidelis was to enlist her support on Mathers's behalf. The next notebook entries follow:

Sunday [8 April]. Saw Fidelis and received her allegiance to S.R. [Mathers] and that of Perseverantia . . . Left London.

Monday [9 April]. Reached Paris. Am selected as the messenger of D.D.C.F. [Mathers] after a long talk with him and V.N.R. [Vestigia]. My proposals are substantially approved.

Tuesday [10 April]. Action begins to be taken.

Wednesday [11 April]. Letters etc. are written.

Thursday [12 April]. Instructions and symbols are received.

Friday [13 April]. Left Paris 11.50 a.m. The history of my mission: is it not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Revolt of the Adepti?

Crowley also made a note of certain information which he wanted to get from Mathers, e.g. 'Symbolism $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ (if having to act as C[hief] A[dept])'. Hence he appears to have expected that his intervention in London would lead to his appointment as Chief Adept in

¹ *Confessions*, p. 225.

Anglia. In spite of his very junior status as a $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ this hope was not incompatible with his paranoid personality.

According to Crowley it was he who formulated the following proposals, which were approved by Mathers, for dealing with the rebellious members of the Second Order:

I. The Second Order to be summoned at various times during two or three days. They are to find, on being admitted one by one, a masked man in authority and a scribe. These questions etc. pass, after pledge of secrecy concerning interview.

A. Are you convinced of the truth of the doctrines and knowledge received in the grade of $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$? Yes or No?

If yes (1) Then their origin can spring from a pure source only?

If no (2) I degrade you to be a Lord of the Paths in the Portal in the Vault of the Adeptus.

B. If he reply 'yes', the masked man continues: Are you satisfied with the logic of this statement? Do you solemnly promise to cease these unseemly disputes as to the headship of this Order? I for my part can assure you from my own knowledge that D.D.C.F. [Mathers] is really a $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$.

If yes (3) Then you will sign this paper; it contains a solemn reaffirmation of your obligation as a $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ slightly expanded, and a pledge to support heartily the new regulations.

If no (4) I expel you from this Order.

II. The practice of masks is to be introduced. Each member will know only the member who introduced him.

Severe tests of the candidate's moral excellence, courage, earnestness, humility, refusal to do wrong, to be inserted in the Portal or $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ ritual.

III. Outer Order to be summoned. Similar regulations to be announced to them. New pledges required that they will not communicate the identity of anybody they happen to know to any new member.

IV. Vault to be reconsecrated.¹

¹ The text was first published in *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, pp. 258-9, and will also be found in *Confessions*, pp. 195-6.

Crowley's Abra-Melin notebook also records certain 'Instructions from Paris'. The text of these is so confused that a summary is necessary.

Crowley was to see M. W. Blackden ('Ma Wahanu Thesi') and ask him for the addresses of all the members of the Second Order. If they were not available he was to send a telegram to Mathers. A new Yale lock was to be fitted to the door or doors at 36 Blythe Road. A dozen masks of Osiris were to be made. For some obscure reason the 'hinged doors' of the Vault were to be altered and only the one decorated with the astrological sign for Venus was to be used. He was to write to Elaine Simpson, possibly about the locks. He was to ensure Miss Maud Cracknell's secrecy. He was to write to Dr Berridge asking him to give his key to Elaine Simpson. Members of the Second Order were to be summoned to Blythe Road by a circular letter: first the Zelatores, then the Theorici. This letter was to be sent out in Mathers's name, i.e. signed D.D.C.F. A 'chucker-out' was to be engaged in case there was physical resistance to the proposed attempt to capture the Vault. M. W. Blackden was to prepare a new Warrant for Mathers's signature. The Outer Order's Isis-Urania Temple was to have new Chiefs with Dr Berridge as Sub-Imperator and G. C. Jones as Praemonstrator 'if all went well'. Once again there is the implication that Crowley expected to be Chief Adept in Anglia with Dr Berridge and Elaine Simpson as Second and Third Adepts respectively. It is unlikely that Mathers actually proposed to promote Crowley to the office of Chief Adept.

Mathers, according to Crowley, was afraid that Mrs Horos might 'take over the command of the Order in London' and instructed him to 'use cold steel and the MacGregor tartan against her' because she feared both.¹

Further instructions for dealing with Mr and Mrs Horos if he met them in London were written in the notebook:

Accept *nothing* from them but wire S.R. [Mathers]. Don't be had by conjuring. Be courteous but firm. *Warnings*: if I am feeble or ill or worried, and if fires refuse to burn, she may be expected. They are 'celibates'. What ho! The real H.P.B.[lavatsky] and the real S[apiens] D[ominabitur] A[stis-Fräulein Sprengel] can incarnate in her. They (her forces) have been against S.R. for long. Prob[ably] knows Brodie Innes. May be Jesuits. Her occult name is Swami Vive Ananda.

¹ *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, p. 264.

Weapons against them. Separate them. Arrest them for theft at very last resort—travelling bags of S.R. stolen. Wire their *real* address to S.R. if found.

Before he left Paris Mathers had given him a Rose Cross symbol or talisman which was only to be used to invoke the Chief in case of urgent necessity. As soon as he arrived in London on Friday evening, 13 April 1900, there was a succession of 'magical accidents'.

On the first day of his arrival in London he went to see Soror P.E.C.Q. [Mrs. Simpson] and Frater S. [actually Resurgam: Dr Berridge]; on his way the cab-lamps catch fire, and later a cab-horse runs away with him, and Soror S.S.D.F.'s [Miss Simpson's] fire refuses to burn. This was on a Friday.

The above is from *The Equinox* (I, iii, 1910, p. 260). According to the version in the notebook: 'Slight trouble at first with Perseverantia [Mrs Simpson]: so put her through questions. Ditto Resurgam [Dr Berridge]. Slept Paddington Hotel.' Returning to *The Equinox* we read:

On Saturday [14 April] the rose cross given him by D.D.C.F. [Mathers] began to lose colour and whitened; a rubber mackintosh nowhere near the fire suddenly caught light; and fires by no means anxious to burn.

On Monday [16 April] in the morning I was very badly obsessed, and entirely lost my temper—utterly without reason or justification. Five times at least have horses bolted at the sight of me . . . Fires at 15 R[andolph] R[oad, Maida Vale, the home of Lady Hall, Mrs Simpson's mother] refuse utterly to burn.

On the Saturday evening he had a disturbing dream about the Horos couple. 'They were at C—— . . . and wanted to get a particular MS. I had no one I could trust at all, and it was hell and Tommy for a while. But it ended tragically for them.'¹

In the meantime Mrs Simpson had told him why the Second Order had refused to initiate him. According to the notebook it was because he was suspected of 'sex intemperance on [Thomas] Lake Harris lines in order to gain magical power—both sexes are here connoted'.

¹ *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, p. 261. In the Warburg Institute's copy Crowley's marginal annotation indicates that C—— was Boleskine. See *The Equinox*, I, iv, 1910, p. 176, for details of a vision he experienced in the spring of 1903. He saw Mr Horos incarnated in the body of Mrs Mathers and Mrs Horos in that of Mathers. 'Their bodies were in prison; but their spirits were in the house of the fallen chief of the Golden Dawn.'

On Monday 16 April, according to the notebook, he 'saw landlord [at 36 Blythe Road] and convinced him', namely that he had the necessary authority to enter and occupy the rooms. 'Saw Fidelis (Miss Simpson) and arranged final details capture of vault. Engaged chucker-out at a public house in Leicester Square.'

The Vault of the Adepts was 'captured', or so Crowley temporarily believed, on Tuesday 17 April. The notebook entry reads: 'Tuesday. Recaptured vault. Suspended Cracknell, H[ora] et S[emper]—A. E. Hunter, the husband of Deo Date] and S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] came. Fight, police, victory.'

Mr Hunter, who had been summoned to the battlefield by Miss Cracknell, wrote a brief report for the information of the Second Order's committee.

On Tuesday, 17th instant, I received a telegram from Miss Cracknell to come at once to Blythe Road. On arriving I found that the rooms which had been closed by Order of Mrs. Emery [Florence Farr] had been broken into. On entering, after a certain resistance, I found there Aleister Crowley and Miss Elaine Simpson, who declared that they had taken possession by the authority of MacGregor Mathers, and showed me documents to that effect. I said that the authority of that gentleman had been suspended by a practically unanimous vote at a duly convened meeting of the Members of the Society. Crowley said that Miss Cracknell, who had entered with me, must leave the room, as she had been suspended from membership, which, of course, I refused to allow, except with that lady's consent.

In the meantime Mrs. Emery arrived, and, seeing the state of affairs, fetched a constable.

Unfortunately Mr. Wilkinson, the landlord, was absent, and we could not then satisfactorily prove to whom the rooms legally belonged.

They had opened the doors, put on fresh locks, and so for the time being were practically in possession.

If I had known of the character of the man who goes under the name of E. A. Crowley, Aleister MacGregor, Count Svareff, I should not have allowed him to remain longer than I could in the rooms of the Society. I did not then realise that he had no right there, having been absolutely refused admission to the London Society of the R.R. et A.C. Nevertheless, as subsequent events proved, it was as well that MacGregor Mathers

was enabled to further carry out his contemptible theatrical farce as far as he did.

While at 36 Blythe Road Crowley found the Second Order's parchment roll and proceeded to sign it: 'Perdurabo, Jan. 23, 1900.' Later Percy Bullock wrote beneath the entry: 'This name was signed without authority and is removed by order of Committee.'

The final entry in the notebook indicates that Crowley still supposed that his intervention on Mathers's behalf would be successful: 'Wednesday [18 April]. Letters sent off.' These letters, which were dated 17 April, were sent to the Second Order members. The text follows:

You are cited to appear at Headquarters at 11.45 a.m. on [Friday] the 20th inst.

Should you be unable to attend, an appointment at the earliest possible moment must be made by telegraphing to 'MacGregor' at Headquarters.

There will be no meeting on the 21st inst.

By order of Deo Duce Comite Ferro
Chief of the S.: O.:

The next scene in what E. A. Hunter called a 'theatrical farce' was played on Thursday, 19 April 1900. This time W. B. Yeats appeared upon the stage and once again Mr Hunter wrote the report:

Early Thursday morning, Mr. Yeats and I called on Mr. Wilkinson, [the landlord at 36 Blythe Road], and asked him how it was that he had allowed anyone to break into the rooms. It seems that Mrs. Emery's injunction as to the closing of the rooms had not been reported to him by his clerk, and that Mrs. Emery had not given written instructions to that effect; he knew, of course, that members came and went as they liked. We, therefore, felt that we could not hold him responsible for the intrusion. Mr. Wilkinson said Mrs. Emery was his tenant; she always paid him the rent for the rooms, and he held her responsible for the same.

Mrs. Emery has given us a letter to the landlord authorising us to have the locks changed, which we had done forthwith.

At about 11.30 Aleister Crowley arrived in Highland dress, a black mask over his face, and a plaid thrown over his head and shoulders, an enormous gold or gilt cross on his breast, and a dagger at his side. He swiftly passed the clerk in the shop

below, which he had no right to do, but was stopped by Mr. Wilkinson in the back hall, who sent us word upstairs. Mr. Yeats and I went downstairs and told him that he had no right whatever to enter the premises. By his request the landlord sent for a constable who, on learning the situation, told him to go, which he at once did, saying he should place the matter in the hands of a lawyer. A man arrived at about 1 o'clock, who showed a letter from Mr. Crowley, asking him to attend at 36 Blythe Road, at 11 o'clock, but he had been all over London searching for Blythe Road. He did not quite know what he had come for, he thought there was some sort of entertainment on. Mr. C. had engaged him, he said, outside the Alhambra [music hall], evidently in the official capacity of chucker-out. I took the man's name and address. Mr. Wilkinson was interested in the matter of Mr. Crowley's intrusion from the fact that his name was on the black list of the journal of the Trades' Protection Association, to which Mr. Wilkinson belonged. Mr. Crowley gave as his authority for entering the rooms, the Earl of Glenstrae, otherwise Count MacGregor. There were numerous telegrams that day for MacGregor, 36 Blythe Road, and late in the evening a foreign telegram. These were all refused, name being unknown. A parcel early in the morning arrived from Clarkson, wigmaker, for Miss Simpson, which was handed to her on her departure.

The Second Order Committee met later the same day and formally suspended Mathers, Dr Berridge and Mrs and Miss Simpson from membership of the R.R. et A.C. pending the decision of the College of Adepts. It resolved, too, that 'no person shall be deemed to belong to the London branch who has not been initiated by that body in London'. The Crowley precedent had been sufficient to show that it would be unwise to accept anyone initiated by Mathers in Paris.

The Committee had already decided to use a camouflage name, The Research and Archaeological Association, for the Second Order by 20 April, when Dr Berridge acknowledged a letter from E. A. Hunter informing him that he had been suspended from membership of the R.R. et A.C. Frater Resurgam made it clear that he intended to remain loyal to Mathers. He wrote:

I am in receipt of your note of yesterday in which you convey to me the decision of the self-appointed and unauthorised committee of your new Archaeological Association.

I have read it carefully but am at present unable to decide whether impudence or imbecility is its predominant characteristic.

As I have never been a member of your new Society I cannot be suspended from such non-existent membership.

Nevertheless, I am a gentleman, and desire to associate solely with men and women of honour. Your letter shows me that the Committee fully recognises the distinction.

Percy Bullock sent him a brief reply which ended: 'Meanwhile I observe that you have felt it necessary to explain that you are a gentleman.'

It was considered advisable to protect other G.D. property from possible attack by Crowley. Julian Baker wrote to E. A. Hunter on 19 April:

I would suggest that you obtain possession of all our [Outer Order] property properly belonging at Mark Masons' Hall and keep them at your house for the present. We must be prepared for anything, for in Crowley we are dealing with a man without principles . . . You and I are responsible for rituals, robes etc. now, as I have just heard from S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] that Blackden has thrown in his lot with Crowley & Co.

Blackden's attitude seems to have been ambivalent throughout the crisis. On 21 April he wrote to an unidentified correspondent to say that he had placed all the G.D. property in his charge 'in a place of security, with strict instructions that it is not to be given up to any one, not even on the authority of my signature, but only to me personally when I shall go to fetch it myself'.

A General Meeting of the Second Order was held at 116 Netherwood Road on Saturday 21 April and was attended by twenty-two members. The minutes were drafted by Annie Horniman, who had now returned to the fold although she did not formally apply in writing for reinstatement in her old position as Sub-Praemonstrator of Isis-Urania Temple until 26 April.

There is no need to deal at length with the business transacted on 21 April. W. B. Yeats, now one of the oldest members, 'gave an address on the history of the Order and explained the illegalities which had crept in, in recent years'. Colonel Webber Smith 'referred to the Third Order and asked how it was that they [i.e. the Secret Chiefs]

did not manifest themselves'. The record of the Colonel's intervention was omitted from the official minutes.

The outcome of the meeting is more clearly stated in the printed 'Statement of Recent Events' (which was circulated to Second Order members in May 1900) than in the minutes.

... it will be seen that D.D.C.F. [Mathers], as Chief of the Order, has placed himself in an untenable position. If his accusation of forgery be true, he has knowingly, and on his own showing for many years made use of that forgery for his authority as Chief; if his statement be false, he has been guilty of a slander on one to whom he was bound by the most solemn pledges of fraternity and fidelity, both as a member of this Order and as a Freemason.

In either case, the conduct has been such as absolutely to destroy the confidence of the Second Order in London.

Therefore the Second Order in London (between 50 and 60 members) is, with the exception of five members, unanimously resolved that it will no longer recognise D.D.C.F. as Chief of the Order, and that its connection with him is absolutely severed.

A New Constitution was framed for the conduct of the Second Order on April 21st.

The Executive now consists of a Moderator, a Scribe, and a Warden, seven Adepts Litterati and the three Chiefs and the three principal officers of the Isis-Urania Temple, who together form a Council which governs the Order.

The Moderator, Scribe and the seven Adepts Litterati are annually nominated by the twelve most advanced adepts and elected by the members of the R.R. et A.C. in London.

The Executive elected on 21 April consisted of Florence Farr (*Moderator*), Annie Horniman (*Scribe*), E. A. Hunter (*Warden*). The function of the Adepts Litterati, whose names follow, was to provide instruction in their respective specialities: Mrs Rand (*Divination*), Mrs Hunter (*Clairvoyance*), Reena Fulham-Hughes (*Tarot and Enochian Chess*), M. W. Blackden (*Ceremonial*), Charles Rosher (*Symbolism*), W. B. Yeats (*Mystical Philosophy*) and Henrietta Paget (*General Instruction*).

Crowley was probably unaware of the resolutions passed on 21 April when he mailed the following document, probably to Florence Farr, on Monday 23 April.

15 Randolph Road, Maida Vale, W.

The Envoy of G.H. Frater Deo Duce Comite Ferro, 7° = 4°, Chief of the S.O., unto all members of the London branch of the S[second] O[rder].

Greeting.

It is first fitting that I express my sincere regret that members of the S.O. should have been put to unnecessary trouble.

In defiance of a promise* given by Mrs. Emery [Florence Farr], Miss Cracknell, and Mr. Hunter to V.H. Soror Fidelis [Miss Elaine Simpson] and V.H. Frater Perdurabo [Crowley], the rooms were forced open and various property of mine detained, while the projected interviews were made impossible.

The Courts of Law will shortly decide further concerning this action.

I hereby suspend V.H. Sorores S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] and Tempus Omnia Revelat [Miss Cracknell] and Hora et Semper [E. A. Hunter], Levavi Oculos [Percy Bullock] and Demon est Deus Inversus [W. B. Yeats] from both Orders.

I must now request that an appointment be made with me by each individual member of the S.O. at the above address.

Letters may be addressed to Miss Elaine Simpson.

Failing this, or a serious and reasonable excuse, suspension from both Orders will operate automatically at noon on Tuesday.

My authority for this action will be shown to each member on arriving at the interview.

Witness my seal.

*Inaccurate—S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr].

The same day Crowley procured a summons (in the name of Edward Aleister) against Florence Farr at the West London Police Court on a charge of 'unlawfully and without just cause detaining certain papers and other articles, the property of the Complainant'. He claimed the return of 'certain papers or articles' or in default the sum of fifteen pounds.

A copy of the Research and Archaeological Association's memorandum for the information of its solicitor and counsel is in the Private Collection. Florence Farr was described as President and E. A. Hunter as Treasurer, while 'Mr Mathers (known as Comte MacGregor de Glenstrae) who resides in Paris is an Honorary Head, but without any control over the Society's financial affairs'. Furthermore, 'Mr Mathers

has never been upon the premises at Blythe Road, nor has he contributed to the funds'.¹

This preamble was followed by an account of Crowley's intrusions at Blythe Road on 17 and 19 April. On 19 April 'certain things of pecuniary value to the Society were found to be missing'.

The case did not come before the magistrate because Crowley, no doubt on his solicitor's advice, withdrew the charge before the parties entered the court room, possibly because the defendants could establish that their property was worth much more than fifteen pounds and the case was therefore outside the court's jurisdiction. Crowley's lawyer signed an undertaking to the effect that the summons was withdrawn and five pounds costs would be paid within seven days.

Thus S. L. MacGregor Mathers, alias the Earl of Glenstrae, Count MacGregor, and his Temporary Envoy Plenipotentiary Aleister Crowley, alias Count Vladimir Svareff, Aleister MacGregor, Edward Aleister, etc. etc. had lost the Battle of Blythe Road.

Mathers was convinced that he was the victim of a conspiracy led by Florence Farr and W. B. Yeats who, he suggested in a letter to M. W. Blackden (26 April 1900), had asked Westcott to become Chief of the Order 'should they succeed in shaking off my authority'. Extracts from this communication follow:

But I admit that I *have* committed one great though avoidable fault, which is this: in giving these persons so great a knowledge I have not also been able to give them brains and intelligence to comprehend it, for this miracle the Gods have not granted me the power to perform. You had better address your reproaches to the Gods rather than to me, unless some spark of returning wisdom can make you recognise in such 'critics' the swine who trample the Divine Wisdom underfoot . . .

How difficult it is for many of the London Second Order to comprehend that I am neither to be bought, bribed, persuaded, tricked, bullied, frightened nor ridiculed into any line of action that I do not see fit to take! Could they have only understood this, the present difficult position in which they have voluntarily placed themselves would not have arisen.

Crowley returned to Boleskine at the end of April 1900 but remained there for only a few days. He closed the house and went to

¹ Mathers was in England in 1898 when he visited T. H. Pattinson and the Horus Temple at Bradford. His failure to go to Blythe Road indicates that there was already tension between Florence Farr and himself.

Paris to see Mathers who, he still believed, might really be in touch with the Secret Chiefs of the Third Order and hence *his* only link with them. The following extract from 'The Temple of Solomon the King' in *The Equinox* is of interest because it throws light on Crowley's subsequent attitude to Mathers.

Towards the end of April, 1900, P[erdurabo] returned to his lonely house in the north, but only remaining there for a few days, he travelled back to Paris. For it was now past Easter, and so too late in the year to begin the operation of Abramelin.

He had, as we have seen, induced D.D.C.F. [Mathers] to put in force the Deadly and Hostile Current of Will, but, as in the case of the Jackdaw of Rheims, nobody seemed a penny the worse. One might have expected that D.D.C.F. having failed, P. would have abandoned him. No, for it seemed still possible that D.D.C.F., really in touch with the supreme Chiefs, had yet finally decided to stay with Christ upon the Cross: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' even though this theory was somewhat rudely shaken by D.D.C.F. spending the whole of one Sunday afternoon in rattling a lot of dried peas in a sieve under the impression that they were the revolted members: as subsequent events proved, they were only the ideas in his head.

So we find P. still loyal, if a little sceptical, and searching within himself to discover a touchstone by which he might prove beyond doubt the authenticity of D.D.C.F.'s claim to represent the Masters.¹

However, according to another passage in 'The Temple of Solomon the King', scepticism ultimately prevailed:

. . . in 1900 one P[erdurabo], a brother, instituted a rigorous test of S.R.M.D. [Mathers] on the one side, and the Order on the other . . . He discovered that S.R.M.D., though a scholar of some ability and a magician of remarkable powers, had never attained complete initiation: and further had fallen from his original place, he having imprudently attracted to himself forces of evil too great and terrible for him to withstand.*

The claim of the Order that the true adepts were in charge of it was definitely disproved.

¹ *The Equinox*, I, iii, 1910, pp. 266-7.

In the Order, with two certain exceptions and two doubtful ones,¹ he found no persons with any capacity for initiation of any sort.

He thereupon, by his subtle wisdom, destroyed both the Order and its chief.

*Presumably Abramelin Demons (A.C.)

Before Crowley sailed for New York late in June 1900 he may have attended a Neophyte initiation ceremony in Dr Berridge's new and rival Isis-Urania Temple No. 3, which was under the Mathers obedience.² The Horus Temple at Bradford and the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh also remained loyal to the deposed Chief, at least for the time being. The Horus Temple may have ceased to function soon after 1900. The later history of Amen-Ra is obscure. It was more or less dormant for a period during the early 1900s and then revived by J. W. Brodie-Innes.

There is an undated letter to Gerald Kelly from 'MacGregor of Boleskine', i.e. Crowley, in the Yorke Collection at the Warburg Institute. It may have been written in May or early June 1900. Crowley advised Frater Eritis Similis Deo that a certain Madame Lucille Hill would be initiated in Dr Berridge's Temple during the next week.

You are required to act as an officer, as the members of Isis-Urania No. 3 have been reduced.

In fact the whole crew of Hunters and Blackdens and Roshers and scabs and skunks and bitches etc. etc. have been swept into oblivion.

[G.C.] Jones and self are in fact the only ones left bar a Doctor [i.e. Berridge] and a Mrs Simpson and very charming daughter.

However, the Hunters and the Blackdens and the Roshers and the scabs, skunks and bitches were continuing their occult avocations although, as we will discover, it was not to be a matter of 'Magic as usual'.

¹ The 'certain exceptions' were undoubtedly Allan Bennett and G. C. Jones.

² In the Private Collection there is a printed Pledge Form for Dr Berridge's Temple. On it Mathers wrote: 'Specially issued by me to V.H. Fra. Resurgam. D.D.C.F. Sept. 15, 1900.' It was undoubtedly printed by Mathers on his own handpress. The type-setting and presswork both betray his lack of expertise. On 12 November 1897 he asked F. L. Gardner for a loan of ten pounds to buy a press and type so that he could print limited editions of manuscripts that he had found at the Arsenal Library. Gardner mentioned the request to Westcott, who offered to give Mathers the money himself. André Gaucher recalled seeing printing types in Mathers's untidy study when he visited him in 1900. (See 'Isis à Montmartre' in *L'Echo du merveilleux*, 1 December 1900.) The Pledge Form is the only known specimen of Mathers's printing.

* * *

The Interregnum

This chapter deals with the thirty-four months between W. B. Yeats's election as Emperor of the Outer Order's Isis-Urania Temple on 27 April 1900—Mrs Rand ('Vigilate') was appointed Cancellaria—and 25 February 1903 when Annie Horniman retired from the G.D. in a dudgeon.

W. B. Yeats's sudden prominence was due to his energetic command when many were floundering during the Mathers crisis. He wrote to Lady Gregory about recent events on 25 April 1900:

... for a week I have been worried to death with meetings, law and watching to prevent a sudden attack [by Crowley] on the rooms. For three nights I did not get more than 4½ hours sleep any night. The trouble is that my Kabbalists are hopelessly unbusinesslike and thus minutes and the like are in complete confusion. I have had to take complete responsibility for everything, to decide on every step.

He wrote to George Russell (Æ) a few days later: 'At last we have got a perfectly honest Order, with no false mystery and no mystagogues of any kind. Everybody is working, as I have never seen them work ...'¹

Yeats's hope that all would now run smoothly was not fulfilled. There was immediate trouble. Annie Horniman had been metaphorically auditing the books and was aghast at what she found. To begin with, the membership and examination records were inaccurate and incomplete. Florence Farr, who could not be bothered with administrative pedantries, only supplied the missing information after much prodding by Annie, who was becoming increasingly irritated and did not hesitate to show it. Then she detected other gross irregularities, such as 'illegal' alterations to the Corpus Christi and Portal ceremonies

¹ For the complete texts of these letters see *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade, 1954, pp. 334, 343-4.

and a new and unofficial version of the Minutum Mundum (Tree of Life) diagram. Worst of all, at least in the view of those who simply wanted to be left in peace, she began to discover the ramifications of the so-called 'Secret Groups', and in particular those of 'The Sphere', of which Florence Farr was the head. It was the 'Groups' issue which led to a major crisis early in 1901 and I shall return to this later. Yeats was the only senior member to give Annie Horniman unqualified support in her efforts to deal with all these blemishes. Hence there was almost continuous friction between Miss Horniman and the Council from the moment she accepted office as its Scribe.

There was, too, an immediate attack upon her by Dr Berridge—if he was not personally responsible, he must have known about it. A certain Mrs Scott, otherwise Soror Sub Silentio (o° = o° October 1891) had deserted and joined Berridge's Temple. There was some acrimonious correspondence and in Mrs Scott's final letter (10 May 1900) a threat: 'One thing I'll tell you before I close; Dr Berridge said to me, that if you helped * * * * [Florence Farr] and others to fight * * * * [Mathers], he would tell your father you were dabbling in magic and he felt sure your father would have you shut up in an Asylum . . .'

Berridge or Mrs Scott caused an anonymous letter signed 'A Constituent' to be sent to Mr Horniman, who was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Falmouth and Penryn. In this communication he was informed that his daughter belonged to 'a Secret Order which has for its object practising so-called witchcraft of the Middle Ages'. Miss Horniman wrote to her solicitor and asked him to tell Dr Berridge that 'such libellous statements about me must stop. He would look very foolish when asked publicly to explain what "magic" means.'

F. L. Gardner was not involved in the recent rumpus because Mathers had suspended his membership of both Orders in December 1899. Furthermore, after the Chief's own expulsion he could hardly go on bended knees to his 'enemy' Florence Farr and ask to be readmitted to the fold.

Francis Wright wrote to him on 11 June 1900 and mentioned that he had been both busy and worried. 'I think I must have had the misfortune to fall under the action of the "Punitive Current" during the past two years. Do you ever do any Divination? If so, I should be very glad to hear what you can make out about me.'

Like many others Wright was puzzled by Westcott's refusal to throw light on the alleged forgeries of Fräulein Sprengel's letters and suggested that 'it is surely not too late to endeavour to hunt up

somebody in Germany who knew Fräulein Sprengel and from them try to clear matters up a bit.'

Yeats met Westcott in a bookshop by chance on 5 June 1900 and made some brief notes of their conversation: 'He [Westcott] was very cautious, very anxious, it seemed to me, not to appear to decry any claim D.D.C.F. [Mathers] might possibly make or had made and at the same time anxious that we should not think that D.D.C.F. had done anything reprehensible.'

Early in June printed forms were sent to all members of the London Second Order. A signature implied acknowledgement of 'the authority of the elective Executive Council in place of the late Chief D.D.C.F.' Sixty-one forms were returned to Annie Horniman. The latter had sent one to Vestigia who had not been expelled from either Isis-Urania Temple or the Second Order in London. Madame la Comtesse MacGregor de Glenstrae wrote indignantly to Annie Horniman on 15 June:

Madame,

I have received your document etc.

In reference to my remaining a member of the R.R.A.C., I do not recognise your right to question me on such a point as I acknowledge no authority save that of the Secret Chiefs represented now in the outer world by 'D.D.C.F.'.

As for belonging to any society that you and your friends may have formed, that you choose to misname the R.R.A.C. I must decline to be so dishonoured.

The whole property, knowledge and MS. of the Order since the death of Magna est Veritas [Dr W. R. Woodman] was vested in D.D.C.F. and Sapere Aude [Westcott] and therefore the action of your friends seems to be simply one of common thieving, added to perfidy and inconsistency.

Either the knowledge is great and some recognition is due to the giver, or it is worthless. In the latter case why steal the MSS and properties?

Both D.D.C.F. and myself had pledged ourselves and made ourselves responsible for you, but now your evil Karma for which we have so long suffered, has departed from us with your action and the time of your expiation is at hand.

Westcott may well have been surprised when, on 4 August 1900, he opened an envelope with a Liège, Belgium, postmark of the previous day. It contained a small piece of paper on which a brief

message was written in the G.D. cypher: 'SRMD [Mathers] has forfeit the help of the Chiefs. Have no fear. L E Tenebris.' A mysterious Frater Lux E Tenebris was supposed to have helped Mathers with material for the $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ ritual in 1891 (see p. 75).

However, the handwriting on the envelope is unmistakably that of an educated Englishman and the average Belgian would not have addressed it so conventionally to 'W. Wynn Westcott Esq., M.D.' Hence Westcott must have been the victim of a practical joke. One might suspect Crowley but the handwriting is not his.

On Sunday 12 August Florence Farr, who was spending the weekend at Bagshot with Sir Henry and Lady Colville, wrote to Annie Horniman. 'I have a new Candidate', she said, 'but I want to get her initiated privately as you did the Spanish lady; because her social position makes it impossible for her to come to Mark Masons' Hall.'

The prospective candidate, who had not yet even heard of the G.D., was Princess Aribert of Anhalt, a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria. She was twenty-eight years of age and according to Florence Farr about to divorce her husband.¹

Florence Farr had already worked out how the private initiation could be contrived:

The five introducers could be arranged thus: Lady Colville to propose her; Sir Henry Colville to interview her as a man; I interview her as a woman; and anyone you like for astral exam.²

I do not think we'd better mention her to more members than we can help as it might reach Berridge's ears and then all the fat would be in the fire. Of course it would be an awful nuisance for her if any rumour of it came out. If you will let me have a paper [Pledge Form] for her, I'll send it on to the Colvile's for them to negotiate with her. I think we could manage a modified $o = o$ [ceremony] at Lightwater [the Colvile's house] where she's staying for some weeks to come and could manage with me as Hierophant, Sir H[enry] as Hiereus and Lady C. as Hegemon and work in the other offices between us.

There is no evidence that the Princess was ever in the G.D.

There was an uneasy peace during the remaining months of 1900.

¹ The marriage was annulled in December 1900. She spent the rest of her life in England as Her Highness Princess Marie Louise.

² According to the amended Second Order bye-laws of May 1900, candidates for the G.D. in the Outer were to 'be interviewed by a Frater and a Soror separately. Another Frater and Soror shall then make separate clairvoyant investigations'.

Dr Westcott avoided any contact with the 'Rebels' and by the end of September had become Praemonstrator of the rival Isis-Urania Temple that Dr Berridge was running for Mathers. Dr Berridge was its Cancellarius and calling himself 'Practicus Adeptus Minor'. This senior $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ status had never existed in the past and was no doubt the reward for his loyalty to the Chief.

Mathers cancelled Gardner's suspension early in October 1900, but only on condition that he did not join the opposition. Gardner, who was unwilling to get involved with Berridge, quietly ended his 'magical' career and for a while found consolation in the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia.

Mr and Mrs Horos were in London by the end of 1900. They had latterly been in South Africa but had hurriedly left Cape Town upon learning that a warrant for their arrest was about to be issued. In London they immediately tried to penetrate the G.D. Westcott was the first to receive a visit from Mr Horos, and found it expedient to pass him on to Gardner, to whom he wrote warning him 'not to tell too much about Mathers, until you find out his attitude . . . Don't refer him to anyone else until you have reported to me, as we don't want fresh quarrels to arise, M[athers] being now friendly to both of us'.

Mr Horos called upon Gardner on 3 December. The latter wrote to Mathers and mentioned that 'in accordance with our ancient traditions I cross-examined him and found him to be a fraudulent pretender or an accomplished liar, his answers as to the grades of his lady were hopelessly wrong so that she is probably also an impostor'.

Percy Bullock appears to have been the last to have encountered Mr Horos at that time. He wrote to Annie Horniman on 10 December:

I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Horos the other day; the lady waited outside in a carriage. To cut a long story short, he retired discomfited. He did not give the name of Horos but an Indian name, stating that, as occultists, they had no fixed abode but were then stopping at Bedford Street, Charing Cross.

They hailed, he wrote, from the Temis Temple in India and had passed a pleasant two months in Paris. They were, he claimed, both members of the Hermetic Society: the lady's grade was $5 = 9$! His own grade zelator. In conclusion I told him we knew all about him and the lady also.

By now the story of the Horos couple's earlier machinations in Paris was known to the senior G.D. people in London. Yeats took on

the thankless task of writing to Mathers to tell him that Mr and Mrs Horos were on the prowl. Mathers replied on 12 January 1901:

To Mr W. B. Yeats

Sir,

I am astonished at your having the impertinence to write me a letter couched in friendly terms, after associating yourself with a set of rascally rebels to thief by a dishonourable trick the result of my work and labour for years, and property that had been bought and paid for before your name was even mentioned as a candidate for the G.D.—You also I believe formulated the statement before an audience worthy of you that my life's labour and self sacrifice had been amply paid for by Miss Horniman's money. I have never offered either myself or the G.D. wisdom for public sale considering that I could never find in the whole world united sufficient resources to pay the value either of my own soul on the one hand, or of the knowledge of the Gods on the other.—You have indeed begun well! and now it only remains for you to betray your country to the Saxons with whom you seem so proud to associate yourself! After your conduct, I have no feeling for you but that of the profoundest contempt; and I would not have condescended to notice your communication; were it not for the matter of the persons [i.e. Mr and Mrs Horos] you mention.

The remainder of this letter will be found on p. 203 above.

The 'Secret Groups' controversy, which had been smouldering below the surface since Mathers's expulsion, came to a head in February 1901. W. B. Yeats and Annie Horniman, both steadfast defenders of orthodoxy, were at loggerheads with almost all the other members of the Executive Council. Their objection to the Groups was stated at tedious length by Yeats in three letters circulated to members of the London Second Order. Yeats declared that the Groups had 'a formal constitution, a formal obligation, a distinct magical personality, which are not the Constitution, the Obligation, or the Personality of this Order'. They also opposed the abandonment of the examination system for the 5° = 6° Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade. What they wanted, in effect, was the restoration of the discipline that had prevailed when Mathers was Chief, but without a dictator to enforce it.

There were stormy Council meetings, ending on 26 February

1901 with a General Meeting at which Yeats and Annie Horniman were outvoted. The next day Yeats, Miss Horniman and J. W. Brodie-Innes signed a letter in which they described themselves as the late Emperor and Scribe of the London Isis-Urania Temple and the late Emperor of the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh.¹

Yeats now ceased to be active in the government of the Order. Annie Horniman continued her sniping operations and Brodie-Innes waited for further developments. Meanwhile an uneasy peace prevailed, at least on the surface. Mrs Cathcart, a member of Amen-Ra, wrote to Gardner on 28 August 1901:

Is it true that S.A. [Westcott] is working again with D.D.C.F. [Mathers]? There seems a sort of disintegration abroad *everywhere*. Some say S.S.D.D. [Florence Farr] has resigned! Others say she has not. Some say Dr. Peck is still working with D.D.C.F., others that they have quarrelled. In Edinburgh all seems pretty much broken up. Some say MSS. have been found with more advanced teachings than we have. Some say that some are *still* in touch with the Third Order.

Mr and Mrs Horos were still about their devious business but were arrested on 26 September 1901; he on a charge of rape and the fat Swami Vive Ananda for aiding and abetting him. Their trial at the Old Bailey in December received enormous publicity and the general public learned, no doubt with fascination, that their victim, a young girl named Daisy Adams, had been given a 'Golden Dawn' Neophyte initiation at which they presided. It will be recalled that they had stolen a set of rituals from Mathers early in 1900. At the trial the Solicitor-General, who appeared for the prosecution, read extracts from the Neophyte ritual, including the penalty clause with its reference to the candidate voluntarily submitting himself, in the event of misconduct, to 'a deadly and hostile Current of Will set in motion by the Chiefs of the Order by which I should fall slain or paralysed without visible weapon, as if blasted by the Lightning Flash'. The Solicitor-General declared it all 'most blasphemous' and Mr Justice Bigham sentenced Mr Horos to fifteen years' penal servitude and his Madam

¹ I have dealt very briefly with the February 1901 rumpus because Professor George Harper, of Florida State University, will edit and publish all the relevant documents: W. B. Yeats's three 'Letters to the Adepti of the R.R. et A.C. upon the Present Crisis', the 'Statement issued to Adepti by the Majority of the Council', and Yeats's privately printed pamphlet *Is the R.R. et A.C. to remain a Magical Order?* and its separate Postscript.

to seven years' detention. An enterprising publisher of greeting cards immediately produced the spoof G.D. card (see Plate VIII).¹

An unknown number of members left the G.D. after the Horos trial. A membership list for both Orders compiled in June 1902 reveals that twenty Second Order Adepts had 'died or resigned during the past 18 months'. Among them were Florence Farr, Mr and Mrs Hunter, Mrs Henrietta Paget, Dr John Todhunter, W. F. Kirby and Madame de Steiger. Forty Second Order and twenty-seven Outer Order members remained. In a letter to F. L. Gardner dated 9 May 1902 Westcott referred to the reaction of William Peck, the City Astronomer at Edinburgh, who 'was in a ghastly funk over the Horos affair, and hurriedly burnt all his lectures, letters, jewels, robes, etc.'

It was at about this time that Dr R. W. Felkin (Fratr Finem Respice) suddenly assumed a prominent position in the Second Order, apparently because he had announced that he had established a link with the Secret Chiefs of the Third Order. Brodie-Innes clearly believed in the possibility and wrote to him on 2 February 1902: 'Of course it goes without saying that I shall give you the utmost help and support in my power. I rejoice that there is a prospect of so competent a link with the Third Order.'

Dr Felkin began his medical studies in c. 1876 but interrupted them in 1878 to go to Uganda as a medical missionary. He eventually returned to Scotland and qualified at Edinburgh in 1884. He also had a German degree (M.D., Marburg, 1885). He subsequently achieved a considerable reputation as an expert in tropical medicine.² He and his first wife Mary Felkin were initiated in the Amen-Ra Temple at Edinburgh on 12 March 1894 but had transferred to Isis-Urania in London and were members of the Second Order by the end of 1896.

By March 1902 the Executive Council which had been running the Order since April 1900 had been replaced by a Provisional Council, probably because Florence Farr and other members of the former governing body had left the Order. Julian Baker had become the Scribe in place of Annie Horniman. On 30 March 1902 he circulated

¹ Accounts of the careers of Mr and Mrs Horos and the trial will be found in E. J. Dingwall, *Some Human Oddities*, 1947; Bernard O'Donnell, *The World's Worst Women (of the Twentieth Century)*, 1953; and Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England: 1887 to the Present Day*, 1970.

² For details of Felkin's work as a medical missionary in Africa in the late 1870s see *Medical History*, III, 1, London, 1959. A paper read by him to the Edinburgh Obstetrical Society in 1884, in which he described a complicated native surgical operation, attracted widespread attention and a fair measure of disbelief. His colleagues' incredulity is of interest because of his later tendency to confuse reality and fantasy.

a quarto printed document (four pp.) containing twenty-seven numbered paragraphs. A plan for the complete reorganisation of the Order was presented to the Adepts prior to the General Meeting to be held on 3 May.

The proposed 'reforms' were far-reaching. The Order's name, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, was to be abandoned. Memories of its profanation at the Horos trial were still vivid, but a new title had not yet been chosen. Examinations within the 5° = 6° grade would be abolished, hence there could be no more advancements to the senior status of Theoricus Adeptus Minor. The annual Corpus Christi ceremony would not be held 'unless convenient and desirable in the opinion of the Executive'. No official teaching or instruction would be given in the Second Order. The latter would henceforth merely form 'a centre or common meeting ground for students interested in all branches of the occult sciences without distinction, the object of maintaining the Outer [Order] System and its examinations up to 5 = 6 intact being to ensure the admittance of bona fide students'. Finally, the Executive was to be empowered 'to cultivate and open up communication with kindred occult societies, with which object it shall be competent to confer the grade of 5 = 6 upon members of such Societies without insisting upon the probationary course of the Outer Order . . .'

These proposals meant the complete emasculation of the Order in its old form. Brodie-Innes was outraged and said as much in a letter (11 April 1902) to an unnamed Soror, probably Annie Horniman. 'This thing was rushed by a clique. I took no part in it and don't accept it now. Has F[inem] R[espice—Dr Felkin] got any direction from the ☉ [Sun] Masters—of course that might modify my point of view considerably?' he wrote.

Dr Felkin's Sun Masters, in whose infallible wisdom Brodie-Innes was prepared to believe—at least for the time being—were supposed to provide the greatly-desired link with the Third Order. H. P. Blavatsky's Mahatmas, Mathers's Secret Chiefs and Felkin's Sun Masters all inhabited the same world of astral fantasy.

Felkin wrote to Brodie-Innes on 11 April 1902 to the effect that 'the proposed Constitution would absolutely destroy the Order'. He mentioned that he would draft an alternative scheme which would include a return to the original 'Three Chiefs' system, which had lapsed when Dr Woodman died in December 1891. Felkin thought that one of the Chiefs should retire in rotation every second year. He also expected trouble from Annie Horniman, who was currently

receiving guidance from a discarnate 'personality' called The Purple Adept.¹

Brodie-Innes did not accept the proposition that the Chiefs should retire in rotation. 'To my thought a Chief is as a Bishop and rules for life and his successor should be indicated from above—not elected,' he replied.

The Provisional Committee's reorganisation scheme was not implemented. At the Second Order meeting held at Mark Masons' Hall on 3 May 1902 the government of the Order was vested for one year in Percy Bullock, Dr Felkin and Brodie-Innes. The last two had succeeded in persuading the rank and file that by reverting to the original constitution of 1888 it might be possible to re-establish a link with the Third Order. Bullock and Felkin wrote to an unidentified Frater and Soror on 28 May to reassure them on this point:

There are now tangible grounds for believing that this step has not been taken in vain and, while we, as nominal chiefs, will not lightly yield allegiance to any force, power, or will purporting to act as the Third Order, the prospects seem to us sufficiently encouraging to warrant our own continued activity in the Order, and also, we suggest, your own.

It was not until 26 June that members of both the Outer and Second Orders were informed that they now belonged to the Hermetic Society of the M.R. 'These letters convey the same meaning as the letters G.D., indicating as they do the German word *Morgenröthe*. The change of name must be kept absolutely secret . . . nor must persons who have resigned be told of it under any circumstances.'

Mathers eventually learned of the appointment of the Three Chiefs and expressed his fury in a communication dated 3 July 1902. One of the interesting features of this document is his allusion to a 'stamped treaty' between Westcott and himself. Indeed, it is necessary to ask *why* Westcott felt it advisable to recognise Mathers's claim to own the London Vault. Unfortunately we do not know what Mathers offered in return unless, possibly, a promise not to embarrass Westcott in connection with the Anna Sprengel letters. Finally, Mathers now suspected that the Horos couple had been planted upon him by hostile members of the Second Order in London.

¹ The Purple Adept had been in evidence since the beginning of the year. Brodie-Innes mentioned him or her in a letter to Felkin on 2 February: 'The "Purple Adept" seems to be a genuine astral personality—but just one of many of a certain small amount of power and knowledge on the astral [plane].'

To the Rebels against my authority in the R.:. R.:. et A.:. C.: and in the G.:. D.:.:

A printed paper dated the 17th May 1902, issued by you, has come into my hands. How DARE you call yourselves 'Chiefs of the R.:. R.:. et A.:. C.:; and pose as the representatives and repositories of the Secret Knowledge of that Order; you, who have received at my hands whatever of its teachings that you know?

I command you to abstain utterly from any arrogation to yourselves of any authority soever in, or control over, either the Order of the R.:. R.:. et A.:. C.:, of the G.:. D.:. , or of the Egyptian Mysteries.

I command you also to *immediately return* to my representative, V.H. Frater Resurgam [Dr Berridge] the whole property of the First and Second Orders which you illegally retain, in absolute violation of the most solemn obligations which it is possible for mortal man to take.

Your conduct from beginning to end is unspeakable in its vile ingratitude to me, aggravated as it is by deceit, lying reports, slander, libel, and insult. It would seem that you have recoiled from no baseness.

The only one among you for whose conduct there can be even the faintest shadow of excuse, and that only on the ground of revenge, is Miss Horniman, whom I was forced to expel from the Order, when you were endeavouring to use her as your tool, lever, and stalking-horse wherewith to injure me.

I warn you that unless the property of the First and Second Orders *is at once* returned: Vault and appurtenances, MSS, Books, Pillars, Altars, and other accessories, as well as the Egyptian painting of Osiris by G.H. Soror 'Vestigia' [Mrs Mathers]; the consequences will be extremely unpleasant for you.

A stamped treaty duly signed and witnessed exists between Dr. Wynn Westcott and myself, by which he undertakes to support on Oath, my claim to the property in question. This was drawn up shortly after your rebellion. Also I am legally advised that your *signed pledge forms*, all of which are in my possession duly stamped can be used as important evidence to prove breach of agreement. Also among other compromising papers, I hold *letters of a libellous character* written by certain among you with the intent of still further injuring me.

Also the matter of the condemned criminal [Mrs Horos] now justly undergoing penal servitude, will have necessarily to be brought forward; for I *will* find out who or whose agent it was who sent her to me in Paris as 'Sapiens Dominabitur Astris' and equipped her with the necessary information to figure to me in that character; and this coincident with your rebellion coming to a head. She could not have been in possession of the information she then held without being in touch with some one to whose interest it was to try to subvert my authority as Head of the Order. It is a notable point that in the *shameful* manifesto you issued, you took little notice of my statement of her being then in Paris. Perhaps it was not to the interest of some among you to do so! Neither was it to your interest to print my former manifesto to the Theorici-Adepti explaining the manner of the Second Order Knowledge and my relations with the Secret Chiefs, and to which manifesto you signed allegiance; and yet it was on this manifesto that I based my attitude!

At least have the honesty to call your conduct by its right name and do not cloak your actions with hypocrisy as well!

Deo Duce Comite Ferro

7° = 4°

Representative of the Secret Chiefs

Head of the Orders of the R. : R. : et A. : C. : ,
of the G. : D. : and of the Egyptian Mysteries.

28 Rue Saint Vincent

Buttes Montmartre

Paris, July 3, 1902

The Order had a new Constitution, new Chiefs and a new name . . . and it still harboured Annie Horniman, who had many angry bees in her bonnet. In February 1901 her honesty had been questioned and she was still outraged. She now demanded a public hearing or 'trial' with three judges chosen by herself. Again, she was still obsessed with the heresies perpetrated by the Secret Groups and Florence Farr's 'The Sphere' in particular. In her opinion their baneful spectre could only be exorcised by a magical Ceremony of Banishment which she wished to perform in the presence of her colleagues. Dr Felkin consulted the Sun Masters and reported their views to Brodie-Innes on 6 May 1902.

You know that the Masters of the Sun, in referring to her [Annie Horniman], say that she is absolutely wrong about an

original taint in the Order having been absorbed by the group and reflected against her and the Order, but her own view is that she, having attracted to herself an evil force, which was attacking the Order through the Group, has been the means of saving the Order. . . . My view of the matter is that she has drawn upon herself the force which the Masters say has been trying to disintegrate the Order and that this force has warped her mind and made her take up her extraordinary attitude of suspicion towards everyone in the Order, being aided therein by one or two who have egged her on by perverted representations of what has been said or done by members of the Order.

He returned to the problem of Annie Horniman a week later (14 May):

You will probably have heard from Fortiter. I think it will be necessary for her to be very kindly but firmly told that she is very largely to blame for the difficulties in the Order during the past two years and that this ever-lasting fault-finding is against the Hod clause [in the 5° = 6° Obligation] and that she must stop or if not her communications will be perfectly ignored. It does no harm for her to think that she has saved the Order, but this constant correspondence and irritation and fault-finding are unbearable. She practically says that she will not let anybody rest until all her pet aversions, including me, are out of the Order.

Brodie-Innes replied on 16 May:

Fortiter I think (like an irate whale) should be allowed to blow, but otherwise not heeded. She has a good knowledge of elementary clairvoyance and of the techniques of the Order, and is extremely valuable in this respect, also she is strenuously for the old regime and has the memory of many great things of early days which few others have—for these qualities I would bear with her *idée fixe*—though it is very irritating.

Apart from Annie Horniman there was another problem, namely the status of Dr Westcott. Firstly, he was one of the Order's original Chiefs and, unlike Mathers, had not been expelled. Secondly he was active in Dr Berridge's Temple, which was loyal to Mathers. Nominally he was senior to both Felkin and Brodie-Innes and might even claim to be Head of the Order in England. Felkin found it advisable to

consult the Sun Masters and communicated their reassuring answer to Brodie-Innes on 19 May:

I enclose you the questions I sent to the Masters . . . I am writing them again today about another matter altogether and will enclose a question or two, including one with reference to S.A. in order to meet your wishes.¹

My difficulty is this. S.A. [Westcott] has personally told me that he cannot in any way break with Mathers. Also that he is working with the Berridge group, or at any rate he is in close touch with them. Again the Masters of the Sun wrote to me that he was not in touch with the Third Order and on the 13th of February they wrote that although he 'is of very high advance, at present, owing to certain changes of position, he is not allowed to take any active part. This is from no fault of his, but the will of the Masters. Should he be allowed to return to authority, he must necessarily be the head of the Order in England'.

And they have clearly intimated, more than impressionally, to me that we must get matters settled before approaching him and that as soon as he may return they will let me know. The Masters' answer was in reply to a question of mine as to whether S.A. could be used. He had been to see me and they explained why, as follows: 'In coming to thee, he came, not of his own initiative, but in obedience to an impulse from the Chiefs of the Third Order, who desired to use his aura as a vehicle for testing and examining thee. But this was wholly unknown to him, who was used unconsciously, neither could he himself have said wherefore he came.'

The traditional Corpus Christi ceremony was held at the end of May. Percy Bullock had been invited to take the role of Chief Adept but was apparently not present. Brodie-Innes filled the breach and described his experiences in a letter written to Felkin on 1 June 1902:

I should like to hear what (if anything) you saw, heard, or felt. To me the force of opposition was more tremendous than I have ever felt before in occultism especially at first, and up to the time of taking the Obligation. After that it almost ceased, except the mechanical difficulty of having prepared to take the

¹ The inference is that Felkin wrote his questions to the Sun Masters, gave the document to an unidentified medium and in due course received a written reply.

part of 2nd Adept and not knowing that of the Chief, nor knowing the mechanism of the Vault and the Pastos, etc. But astrally things were calm as a Spring morning after the Obligation. I had a sense also of great presences, keeping evil things at bay. If you enquire at all of the Sun Masters let me know their answer. Also what became of L.O. [Percy Bullock].

Annie Horniman was not granted the privilege of a 'public trial' with judges chosen by herself. Instead the three Chiefs (Felkin, Brodie-Innes and Bullock) investigated her complaints and produced a signed 'Judgment' which was read at a special meeting held at 36 Blythe Road on 11 July 1902. Summonses were sent to all Second Order members but apart from the Chiefs only eight Adepts troubled to be present. Since two of the three signatories were lawyers the document reads like a judicial summing-up before instructing a jury to declare a prisoner not guilty. But the Chiefs were mistaken if they supposed that Annie Horniman would now leave them in peace. She was determined to have her 'Banishing Ceremony' and her *pronunciamento* on the 'Sphere' group was read at a Second Order meeting held at Mark Masons' Hall on 22 November 1902.

Soror Fortiter et Recte, Th.A.M., craves to represent to the Chiefs as follows:

1. Some years ago there was formed in the Order a certain group of members for the purpose of occult working and ceremonial, with regard to which a certain secrecy was observed some short time after its start.

This group consisted of 12 members and the symbols were adapted from the Star maps and Tree of Life projected on a sphere, whence they were sometimes called the sphere group. The twelve members had astral stations assigned to them around this sphere and a certain Egyptian astral form was supposed to occupy the centre.

It is unadvisable more particularly to detail this formula the particulars of which, so far as necessary for the present purpose, are well known to the Chiefs.

2. The V.H. Soror came to hear of this group and was not favourably impressed with what she heard and warned certain members of its danger.

3. She was however invited to join it and, all the astral stations being occupied by the 12 as before stated, she was

invited to place herself in the centre beside the Egyptian astral. On further and more complete knowledge of the occult system involved, she definitely declined and has come to the clear and certain conviction that the said group was extremely prejudicial to the Order. Her reasons for so thinking may be classed as (a) Disciplinary and (b) Occult.

(a) *Disciplinary reasons*

I. That the formulae and ceremonial were no part of the Order teaching as at present given and did not come from the source whence we received those teachings and therefore are no legitimate part of Order work.

II. That the members of the Group had not all, nor even the majority of them, completed their course of Order training and examinations—and therefore should not be asked or allowed under sanction of the Order to take up any other studies.

III. That the singling out of those 12 members, some of whom are juniors, for special occult work tended to exalt them above those who had passed through the Order curriculum and thereby diminished the prestige of that curriculum.

IV. These things tended to promote spiritual vanity in those selected to form the group—led them to undervalue and neglect Order teachings and led others not of the group to believe that the group was in possession of special knowledge and privileges and powers higher than was attainable by the ordinary curriculum.

V. All this was disruptive in its tendency and against the harmonious working of the Order as handed down to us.

(b) *Occult reasons*

I. The symbol used by the group was a faulty one, more open to the Klippoth than to Kether so liable to draw into itself astral forces.

V.H. Fortiter et Recte affirms and believes that such evil forces were drawn into it. She denies positively ever having said or thought that the members of the said group were either evil—either in themselves or in the organisation, but she believes them to have been misled or deluded in the symbol under which they were associated.

II. She believes and affirms that the Egyptian astral occupying the centre of the sphere symbol was not in harmony with the Order and that any influence exercised by that astral was hurtful

to the Order. Moreover that no member has any right to add to an Order symbol or ceremony a new and possibly alien influence or to alter or mutilate for any purpose whatever symbols handed down to us in the Order.

III. She believes and affirms that this faulty and prejudicial symbol connected with the alien and hostile Egyptian astral became occultly inserted into the Order—producing definite prejudicial affects upon it.

IV. She believes and affirms that though the group no longer meets or works, many of its members having left the Order, the astral symbol created by it and its astral shell still remains and is still capable of injuring and perhaps destroying the Order, especially by crippling its development in spirituality as well as in material growth, through preventing want of perfect confidence amongst its members.

V. Holding these opinions, the V.H. Soror submits to the Chiefs that it is eminently desirable that this astral symbol or shell should be banished and disintegrated for ever by appropriate (magical) ceremonial.

VI. To this it is absolutely essential that all members of the group or sympathisers now remaining in the Order should formally consent, indicating thereby their willingness that the said group, its teachings and formulae and ceremonies should cease absolutely and for ever be dissolved.

It being clearly understood that such consent does not imply that in joining such a group or in taking part in its ceremonies they did willingly or consciously anything evil or anything prejudicial to the Order or to any of its members.

VII. The V.H. Soror submits that having been invited astrally to the centre of the sphere she is the appropriate person to perform the banishing ceremony, of which she has submitted a formula to the Chiefs for their opinion as to its orthodoxy.

VIII. That they will appoint a place and a time whereat they will call upon her in the name and for the benefit of the Order to perform the said banishing formula.

Fortiter et Recte, Th.A.M.

Once again the Chiefs issued their 'Judgment' in suitably weighty legal prose. Having duly considered all the evidence submitted by Annie Horniman

... we hereby command and direct our V.H. Soror Annie Horniman to perform the ceremony of banishing the said group symbol, according to the formula lodged by her with us, in the presence of the whole Order, or such as are able to attend, on the 11th day of December at 7.30 p.m. at an address to be communicated by circular to every member of the Second Order or at such time and place as may hereafter be appointed, whereof reasonable notice shall be sent to each member.

Soror Fortiter Et Recte was still not completely satisfied and on 23 November 1902 wrote a memorandum containing the demand that the Groups, or such members of them as were still in the Order, should pay 'their proportion of rent, etc. for 36 [Blythe Road] during the years they used our rooms for their own purposes . . .' In her opinion this was 'the only practical way in which consent to the Banishing Ceremony can be shewn to be *real*, not merely political'.

The Chiefs' 'Judicial Committee' considered this plea with its usual diligence and yet another 'legal' document was issued. Permission to use the premises at 36 Blythe Road had been given by Florence Farr, Chief Adept in Anglia at the time in question. But she had left the Order and was outside the Chiefs' jurisdiction. Thus in order to dispose of the matter once and for all the Chiefs decided that no action could be taken against Florence Farr or anyone else.

At about this time Dr Felkin wrote a paper on 'The Group as I knew it, and Fortiter'. It is too long to reprint here, but the following extracts throw light upon the Sphere Group's arcane operations:

When the first Group was formed by Mrs. Emery [Florence Farr], she told us that D.D.C.F. [Mathers] approved of such groups, as also did S.A. [Westcott] and that indeed S.A. had once formed such a group himself.

The objects of the Group were: to concentrate forces of growth, progress and purification, every Sunday at noon, and the progress was 1st, the formulation of the twelve workers near but not in 36 [Blythe Road]; 2nd Formulation round London; 3rd, Formulation round the Earth; 4th, Formulation among the Constellations. Then gradually reverse the process, bringing the quintessence of the greater forces to the lesser. The process was to take about an hour.

A somewhat similar but far simpler exercise would be an experiment

in group telepathy. These people, however, were engaged in 'astral journeys', or so they imagined.

The members of the first group were Miss Waters, Mrs. Macrae, Mr. Blackden, Mrs. Rand, Mr. Hunter, Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Paget, Mr. Palmer Thomas, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Emery, Miss Butler [later Mrs. E. A. Hunter] and myself. Our Order names were never used and an Egyptian figure occupied the centre of the Sphere.

With regard to the Order rooms [at 36 Blythe Road] being used for the Group, I do not think that the Group met there more than four or five times at the utmost and there were two meetings at Mrs. Emery's private rooms, but meetings were not necessary for the work of the Group.

Now the original Egyptian Group only lasted from the summer of 1898 to 1901, when we had a meeting and we were told that the Egyptian had retired from the Group and the Group as it was then constituted was brought to an end, the reason being that he was changing his place on the higher planes and could no longer work with us . . . so the second Group was formed having the Holy Grail on the central pillar.

Annie Horniman's original opposition to the Groups, which was shared by Yeats, was because she supposed they represented alien and magically suspect activities. By the end of 1902 the Groups had long since ceased to function and yet she was still obsessed by the memory of this awful heresy. A passage in Dr Felkin's memorandum suggests the reason for her persistent nagging: 'She takes up the position that she is the Senior Adept; she believes that she is in touch with the Third Order, i.e. the Purple Adept, and that she, although not recognised, is really the Chief of the Order.'

I do not know if the Banishing Ceremony was actually performed. However, Annie Horniman resigned from the Order at the end of February 1903, possibly because she realised that she would not succeed in overthrowing Felkin, Brodie-Innes and Percy Bullock. Her magical career came to an end and henceforth she devoted her gifts and energies, which were considerable, to the theatre: first at Dublin where she built the Abbey Theatre for her dear friend W. B. Yeats and the Irish National Theatre Society, and next at Manchester where, as proprietor of the Gaiety Theatre, she pioneered the modern British repertory movement.

However, even without Annie Horniman and many others, the Order, endowed with its own peculiar vitality, continued to function.



The Stella Matutina

A. E. Waite's account of the vicissitudes of the G.D. during the years 1900-3 is often misleading and sometimes inaccurate. It is evident, however, that soon after the Second Order's annual general meeting in the spring of 1903 he and his friend Marcus Worsley Blackden and a few followers got possession of the Isis-Urania Temple and presumably the Vault. It appears that Brodie-Innes, Percy Bullock and Dr Felkin were candidates for re-election as the three Chiefs but failed to gain the required majority of votes. According to Waite:

At the end of twelve months there was a third General Meeting, at which Brodie-Innes declaimed the successive clauses of his [proposed] Constitution with histrionic magnificence. It fell upon myself subsequently to take the clauses successively, reciting objections and securing promises of variations or amendments in several cases. It began to look ominously as if the draft might pass, subject to alteration here and there, and that Brodie-Innes would be claiming the Headship of the Rite in consequence. I proposed therefore the rejection of the second draft constitution *in toto*, with the result that this also lapsed for want of the requisite majority. It being resolved otherwise that the triumvirate as such should not be elected for a third year, I proposed also that those who regarded the Golden Dawn as capable of a mystical instead of an occult construction should and had indeed resolved to work independently, going their own way. This third Annual Meeting dissolved in chaos, so far as other matters were concerned, with Brodie-Innes in a state of white rage.

Immediately after I arranged that the Hermetic Society, as the G. . . D. . . was called in the outer world, should continue its Meetings at Mark Masons' Hall; and joining forces with Blackden the Rite went on, as if no revolutions had occurred. The Triple Headship was restored by co-opting the

Rev. W. A. Ayton as a co-Chief, he being the Senior Adept among us.¹

He continued:

As regards the Stella Matutina Temple, the position of Dr Felkin remained dubious throughout . . . It was claimed further that Felkin had no official connection with Brodie-Innes and that he was working alone, so far as government was concerned. Whence he pretended to derive authority I never heard, his appointment to a ruling position by vote at successive Annual Meetings having lapsed obviously at the end of the third year.

The 'authority' or otherwise of Waite, Felkin and Brodie-Innes is of no great importance since their various claims, true or false, to an occult 'apostolic succession' were based upon very insecure foundations.

With the exception of copies of an exchange of letters, about a score in all, between Waite and Brodie-Innes, there are no documents for the year 1903. Waite & Co. announced their intentions or position in a manifesto dated 24 July. No copy of this document is available. Brodie-Innes received it and wrote to Waite complaining that it had been circulated to the whole Order without allowing any opportunity for discussion. However, in spite of all protestations to the contrary Waite did not want any discussion. As far as he was concerned the time had come to bid farewell to the past and continue the G.D. on a different basis.

The unilateral secession engineered by Waite was based upon a rigid interpretation of the rules. In 1902 the Order had reverted to the 'Three Chiefs' system because it was supposed, however illogically, that this would enable the hypothetical link with the Third Order to be re-established. But Percy Bullock had suddenly resigned, possibly very soon after the general meeting held in June 1903 and nobody was appointed in his place. Waite wrote to Brodie-Innes on 1 August 1903:

. . . it was decided by our section prior to the issue of the statement which I sent you that we were unable to recognise the authority of two [Chiefs] only and by the fact of the minutes the whole Order had entered into abeyance as far as government was concerned. It was therefore impossible for us to deal with any single member assuming the capacity of Chief.

¹ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 228.

This meant, in effect, that he was unwilling to negotiate with Brodie-Innes and Felkin either jointly or individually. By degrees the correspondence reveals the points at issue between Brodie-Innes and Waite. The former stated his own position in a series of questions that were sent to Waite on 8 September.

Do the signatories simply desire to place on record their own doubt or disbelief in the Third Order, or to coerce all the other members to disbelieve also?

Do the signatories desire to be excused from examinations, or do they wish to deny those who desire to be examined from having what they wish?

Do the signatories wish to be accepted as competent practical occultists or magicians entirely on their own assertion, or to deny to those who have given practical proof of their power the means of recording such proof? Or do they entirely deny the existence of magical powers?

Do the signatories consider that the wish of a minority to *re-edit the Rituals* should over-ride the wish of a majority who wish to retain them?

Are the signatories to be considered the sole or best judge of a connection with the Third Order?

What is meant by a 'mystical trend' and by the 'lower occultism' is obscure . . . 'Progress by the mystic way' is obscure' . . .

Waite did not reply until 7 November. In his opinion Felkin, Brodie-Innes & Co. had no legal standing.

The Section of the Order which I represent is agreed that . . . the Order has passed into abeyance so far as government is concerned except in so far as government may exist in the independent branch . . . With regard to the properties [i.e. the Vault etc.], they belong to us as much as they belong to the others and we believe we can make use of them so that we shall certainly maintain our rights as regards them.

He wrote to Brodie-Innes again on 18 November and this time was more explicit.

The Independent Branch of the Order [i.e. Waite's] will be prepared to enter into a *concordat* as originally proposed and agreed to by Frater F[inem] R[espice—Dr Felkin] prior to 4th

July, with the remaining members should these desire to reincorporate and thus pass out of their present position of abeyance as far as government is concerned. Or alternatively we shall be glad to receive and welcome any part of them who may choose to join forces with us.

In the three next paragraphs he rejected everything that was dear to Brodie Innes.

The Third Order—the question of the original connection with the Third Order is a matter of opinion and exception is taken to any attempt to commit the Order bodily to any particular view.

Revision of the Rituals—if there is a party within the Order which has a preference for spurious archaisms with the worst style of journalistic English there can be no doubt that such a party has a right to follow its inclinations, though it is not a party which enlists any educated sympathy, *but we on our part desire the Rituals to be revised* in accordance with good English and brought back as closely as possible to the original cypher manuscript in order to shorten and improve the working.¹

Progress by examination—we affirm that there are no examiners and we object to the assumption of examining power by another party. We have not met with those members who are alleged to possess 'practical power'. We do *not* deny the existence of such powers but we deny the importance attributed to them. We believe in another path . . . the proof of attainment lies in the possession of the 'Graces' of the Spirit, not of the 'Powers'.

The respective attitudes of Waite, Brodie-Innes and Felkin were roughly as follows: Waite wanted to throw overboard the old 'Magical' tradition which derived from Mathers and be free to pontificate about the Graces of the Spirit in his own inimitable fashion; Brodie-Innes hoped for the restoration and preservation of Mathers's authoritarian concept of the Order; and Dr Felkin wanted to *find* the Secret Chiefs and continue from that point.

Yeats tried to bring the opposing parties together but failed. According to Waite (letter to Dr Felkin, 1 January 1904) he suggested that they should use a common Temple for the Outer Order and for

¹ If the rituals had been 'brought back as closely as possible to the original cypher manuscript' very little would have remained. Waite's proposition suggests that he was not yet familiar with the contents of the Cypher MS.

Second Order purposes share private rooms, but Waite could not agree to this.

The correspondence dragged on, with allusions to the possibility of a concordat between the two groups, until December 1903. Waite then suggested that the exchange of letters 'might reasonably be permitted to close at this point'.

There is a reference in *Shadows of Life and Thought* to Waite and Blackden being made Freemasons in September 1901 and their reasons for becoming members of the Craft, namely that 'the Order of the Golden Dawn might profit thereby'. In a letter to Brodie-Innes (13 August 1903) Waite stated his hope that Brodie-Innes would 'feel personally in agreement with the course that has been taken by those of us who view the Order to some extent as *an institution which has arisen out of Freemasonry* and who desire to *restore the connections* which once subsisted with it'. The connections, however, had been with the Soc. Ros. rather than conventional Craft Freemasonry and the significance of Waite's policy is obscure.¹

No information is available for the years 1904-5 because there are no documents. In January 1904, however, Dr Felkin received a letter from a Dr Studtmann, a physician at Hanover, that had a strange aftermath. His German colleague, whose name was previously unknown to him, wrote about a female patient who had recently been operated on for cancer of the breast. She had heard about Dr Felkin's clover-tea tablets, which were not available in Germany, and supposed that they might help her. Dr Studtmann asked Felkin to send a supply.

In due course a letter arrived in London from Dr Studtmann's patient who was none other than a Fräulein Anna Sprengel, who lived at Kokenstrasse 14 at Hanover. She mentioned (3 February 1904) that a Miss Mander and Fräulein Steinhoff, her cousin, had suggested she should write to Felkin about her illness and the clover-tea tablets, which she was now taking. When Dr Felkin saw the signature 'Anna Sprengel' he supposed that he might miraculously be in touch with a relative of the original Fräulein Sprengel, Soror Sapiens Dominabitur Astris.

He wrote to her in German by return of post on 6 February: 'I would be grateful if you could tell me something about your family

¹ Waite and Blackden both joined the Soc. Ros. in April 1902. Waite resigned in c. 1914 because his fellow 'Rosicrucians' refused to elect him as Celebrant, i.e. the equivalent of Master of a Lodge.

history. Have any of your relatives had cancer? Where did they live in Germany? Do you have relatives at either Ulm, Heidelberg or Nürnberg?' he asked. These were the three towns mentioned by Mathers in his letter to Percy Bullock of 2 April 1900 (see p. 217). He continued: 'It is very odd, but I once knew a Fräulein Anna Sprengel who, I believe, must have died in 1894. Is it possible that this lady was a relative of yours?'

Fräulein Sprengel did not reply to his letter until 4 April 1904. She informed him that the clover-tea tablets appeared to affect her digestion adversely and then, in answer to his questions wrote: 'The lady whom you knew was not a member of my family.'

For some reason it has been traditionally supposed that the original Fräulein Sprengel's first name was Anna, but no Christian name was ever mentioned in G.D. circles until c. 1912. The confusion was due to the fact that Felkin told a number of people that he had met Soror S.D.A.'s niece, Fräulein Anna Sprengel. At that point Soror S.D.A. also became 'Anna Sprengel'.

Dr Felkin wrote to the 'niece' and suggested that he should visit her. She replied briefly on 3 June 1904 to say that she would be away from Hanover for a lengthy period and there the matter rested for the time being.

After lengthy negotiations which began during the spring of 1906, in April 1907 Felkin signed a concordat which was intended to govern the relationship between his own and Waite's Temple. This was at Brodie-Innes's instigation rather than his own desire. I do not know when Felkin first called his branch of the Order the 'Stella Matutina' or when its Outer Order Temple was named Amoun. Brodie-Innes was involved on Felkin's side and so, too, was Hugh Elliott ('Nobis Est Victoria', N.E.V.). The latter was a partner in Rebman & Co., an obscure publishing firm whose offices were at 129 Shaftesbury Avenue. They published Brodie-Innes's novels *Morag, the Seal* and *For the Soul of a Witch* in 1908-10. Next to nothing is known about the membership of either Temple, but Marcus Worsley Blackden, Robert Palmer Thomas, Colonel Webber and Mrs Rand seem to have been Waite's leading colleagues.

While Brodie-Innes, who was a Theoricus Adeptus Minor, was notionally senior to Felkin, who had never taken the examinations for the Th.A.M. grade, he was prepared to acknowledge that Felkin was Chief of Amoun Temple because he was in touch with the Secret Chiefs. He wrote to Felkin on 24 April 1906: 'Of course I know you

are and must be head of the Temple and the channel of communication [i.e. with the Third Order] . . . my only wish is to work under you and help the Order in any way in my power.' Elliott was Cancellarius of Amoun. Brodie-Innes argued that he himself ought to be Praemonstrator and Felkin Imperator. That was probably how it was eventually settled but one cannot be sure.

Elliott was in favour of the concordat providing that no concessions were made. He wrote to Felkin on 26 April 1906:

We don't want their members working with us, and we certainly can't confer on them any of our special knowledge . . . There are many points we must keep to ourselves, both as to doctrine, instruction and working. Generally there is a sort of suggestion that they would like to get the extra knowledge they think we may possess on *their own terms* and not ours.

Felkin consulted the Secret Chiefs by writing a report and then receiving their comments via his wife's or his own mediumship. Automatic writing was probably the method used for getting messages. For instance on 17 November 1906 Felkin asked a vague question about the original Isis-Urania Warrant, which was now in his possession.

Felkin: I have the old Warrant of Isis-Urania—but the G.H. Chiefs wrote to me that the Warrant was in what they termed automatic script. I know of none such.

The Secret Chiefs: Some parts of the Warrant and some signatures were written by the G.H. Frater N.O.M. [Westcott] but were not as some have ignorantly stated forgeries. His hand was used according to a formula well known in the higher Grades and perfectly satisfactory to them. The Outer Order and the Zelatores Adepts Minores have no concern with this Warrant—nor should it have been shown to them. Trouble arose from this which was a mistake of D.D.C.F.'s [Mathers].

Felkin: They [i.e. Waite and Blackden] still hold the idea that the 'G.D. Order' is the spiritual part of Freemasonry and that the 3 Chiefs *must* be Masons.

The Secret Chiefs: This is incorrect, but if they form a separate Temple there is nothing to prevent their making a rule *for themselves* that all three Chiefs must be Masons. It would only apply to their Temple.

The Sun Masters, who were not the same as the Secret Chiefs, also imparted interesting information. Felkin was asking for high grade rituals that did not exist for the very good reason that Mathers had not written them. Felkin was in touch with them on Christmas Day 1907.

The Sun Masters say to F[inem] R[espice] in answer to his request for the 6 = 5 and 7 = 4 Rituals:

To G.H. Frater D.D.C.F. [Mathers], the former Chief of the Order, the general Ritual of 6 = 5 was given, but even he never had the Ritual of 7 = 4. Though he was nominally of that Grade he had no power to advance beyond 6 = 5. He would have attained to the full grade of 7 = 4 and possessed the Ritual and all its privileges had he continued the diligent and obedient student that he was at first . . . When thou hast reached by labour and study the grade of 6 = 5, the Ritual will be imparted to thee at once even as was that of 5 = 6.

Felkin still felt that something was missing, namely a direct contact with the successors of Soror S.D.A.'s German group which had traditionally been in touch with Westcott twenty years earlier. He therefore resolved to find them. He mentioned this decision in a Statement issued to his senior Adepts on 17 March 1914.

As is well known to one of you, for some years I was much troubled about the origins and genuineness of the Order Stella Matutina and R.R. et A.C. Circumstances arose in 1906 which led me to the conclusion that either I must find out the whole truth of the matter or drop the whole of my connection with the Orders. From that time to the present I have used every effort and have spent a good deal of money, if so be, I could come into real contact with what we have been led to suppose was the Third Order. I have been able to do this to my own satisfaction.

The fact that members of the Third Order were assumed to exist only on the astral plane need not worry the reader. Felkin obviously supposed that he might find them in the flesh, and in Germany. So to Germany he went in 1906 and

finally met a professor, his adopted daughter, and another gentleman near Hanover, who he believed were undoubtedly Rosicrucians. They were, however, very secretive, and averse to giving much information, because they said that although they

knew him as a scientific man, he was not a Mason, nor did he belong to any occult society that they had knowledge of. Owing to this Frater F.R. immediately applied to his old friend . . . of Edinburgh, and was initiated as a Freemason in Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh Lodge, No. 1, on January 8, 1907.

In 1908 Frater F.R. with Soror Q[uaero] L[ucem, his second wife] at last got into touch . . . with several members of the Third Order in Germany.¹

It was at about this time that Felkin contacted a discarnate 'Arab Teacher' called Ara Ben Shemesh. The following is from the 'Investigations' typescript (see footnote below):

In 1920 F.R. writes: 'About twelve years ago A.B.S. came to us (Q.L., Q[uaero] A[lissima—Felkin's daughter] and myself) and told us he was a member of a Temple in the Near East; that he had obtained permission from his superiors to try to get into touch with some Western students and thus help towards the reunion of the East and West . . . We agreed to receive him.'

A.B.S. communicated again on 26 January 1909 and, wonder of wonders, knew about Father Christian Rosenkreuz.

He (A.B.S.) says he comes from the 'Temple in the Desert' and those who live there are the 'Sons of Fire'. There are three ranks: Neophytes or Catechumens, the Accepted and Proven, and the Indwellers. The last are those whom we call Masters. They live in personal communion with the Divine and being no longer bound in the flesh their material life is entirely a matter of will. . . . Christian Rosenkreuz came to us and learned much. From us he took the letters C.R., the true interpretation of which is one of the great mysteries of the Universe.

There was no lack of information from the astral plane. There was a long message from the Secret Chiefs of the R.R. et A.C. on 27 March 1909. It is too long and too banal to be reprinted here. It is possible that some of the Stella Matutina's senior members were becoming restless; now they had their answer:

¹ *Light-bearers of Darkness* by 'Inquire Within', i.e. Miss Christina Mary Stoddart, 1930, p. 91. Miss Stoddart used some 'historical notes' written by Felkin which have not survived. In the Private Collection there is a typescript 'Investigations into the foundation of the Order G.D. and R.R. et A.C. and the Source of its Teachings', 1922, revised 1923 by I.F.C. Miss Stoddart's motto was 'Il Faut Chercher'. She used this manuscript for her Stella Matutina chapter in *Light-bearers of Darkness*. Both sources contain incoherent information but the typescript sometimes explains obscurities in the published version.

It is profitless to enquire 'Why do not the Masters—or the 3rd Order—do something else?' As I have said, they have no desire to communicate. They grant it as a privilege to those who desire [their teaching]. Those who do not like this method must be content with the teaching they already have.

Sometime since it was brought to the notice of Our Council that doubts had not only been entertained but expressed concerning R.R. et A.C. communications . . . For those who thus hurt or destroy the faith of others there is a Karma which never fails. Partially already it has fallen on the former Chief [i.e. Mathers] and will yet be more severe. But with this we have nothing to do.

The remainder of the document consists of a pledge that was to be written and signed by all Second Order members who wished to receive further instruction. It begins:

I declare . . . that I fully believe in the genuineness of the messages and communications, the teachings and the Rituals of the Order of ——. That I know not, neither will I seek to know, how they are transmitted and received, but I will receive them without question from their appointed medium.

Intercourse with Ara Ben Shemesh was not without its unpleasant moment. Consider, for example, what happened on 15 May 1910.

Some horrible thing was discovered standing before the Pylon (formulated). F.R. banished with Hierophant's sword. After some fight the place was cleared.

F.R. asked: 'How did that get in?'

A.B.S.: 'It was not in the Temple but before the Pylon (formulated) to prevent our entry.'

F.R., however, considers that there was a second horrible being and that one was in our Temple.

On 22 May 1910 A.B.S. told F.R.: 'It was an elemental, not a person!'

Felkin was in Germany again in 1910 and for some inexplicable reason hoped to introduce Dr Westcott, who was also travelling there, to his former patient, Fräulein Anna Sprengel. He had lost her address but was able to contact Fräulein Steinhoff, her cousin, who reported that she was still at Hanover, but in poor health and employed as a companion to an old lady. Westcott wrote to Felkin to say that he expected to be at Hanover between 1–3 July and would be staying at

Kasten's Hotel. Felkin also received a brief note from Fräulein Sprengel: 'If possible I will be in the waiting room at 12.3. But I cannot promise this with any certainty as I am with a sick person.' Her proposed meeting with Westcott did not take place.

On the basis of what Felkin later told him Waite clearly supposed that Fräulein Sprengel was the niece of Soror Sapiens Dominabitur Astris, 'and belonged, like her Aunt, to the Occult Association which had authorised Westcott to found a Temple of the G.: D.: in London'.¹

Felkin was staying with a certain Dr Marcus at Bad Pyrmont, a spa not far from Hanover, at the end of June 1910 when he received a postcard from Dr Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden, who wrote from Göttingen and regretted his inability to meet Felkin at Hanover on Thursday 30 June. In relation to his current search for genuine 'Rosicrucians' it was logical for Felkin to want to talk to Dr Hübbe-Schleiden. When the German Section of the Theosophical Society was founded in 1884 he was its first President and in 1885 began to publish *Die Sphinx*, a monthly periodical devoted to Theosophy and occultism and the first of its kind to appear in Germany. If anyone could provide accurate information about Rosicrucian groups in Germany during the 1880s and perhaps even identify the original Fräulein Sprengel, then Hübbe-Schleiden was a sensible choice.

Since a meeting with Hübbe-Schleiden was impracticable, Felkin must have asked him for Dr Rudolf Steiner's address, because Hübbe-Schleiden wrote to Felkin on 30 June and gave him detailed instructions for finding Steiner's residence in Berlin. He explained that Steiner could never be seen at short notice. 'Perhaps it might facilitate matters if you mention my name, for when he is in Berlin for a day or two there are always dozens of persons, mostly his disciples, who are waiting for hours at his door hoping to catch him for a short hearing.'

Dr Steiner had been Secretary General of the German branch of the Theosophical Society since 1902. Never a Theosophist in the Blavatsky-Adyar tradition he was already on uneasy terms with Annie Besant. He and many of his followers broke away from the T.S. in 1912 when he founded the later far more influential Anthroposophical Society.

¹ There is the possibility that Waite was referring to Fräulein Alice (not Anna) Sprengel, of whom more in due course. The problem for the researcher is that any available female called Fräulein A. Sprengel was liable to be grist for Felkin's lunatic mill. See *Shadows of Life and Thought*, pp. 220, 222, 224, 229.

In 1910 it cannot have been widely known in Theosophical circles that Steiner had acquired a Charter from an irregular Masonic rite, meaning one that was not recognised by either the German or British Grand Lodges. At this point I must interrupt my account of Dr Felkin's search for the Chiefs of the Third Order to deal with Dr Steiner's pseudo-Masonic activities, because they have a connection with Felkin's subsequent adventures in Germany.

The rite in question was that of Memphis and Misraim, of which one Theodor Reuss was the Grand Master for Germany and Austria.¹ Steiner acquired his M. & M. warrant in the spring of 1906. According to Reuss's periodical *Die Oriflamme* (1906, V, i, pp. 4-5):

Brother Dr. Rudolf Steiner, 33°, 95°, of Berlin, and the Brothers and Sisters associated with him have been granted permission to form a Chapter and Grand Council under the title 'Mystica Aeterna' in Berlin. Dr. Steiner has been appointed Deputy Grand Master with jurisdiction over members already received or to be received by him. Sister Marie von Sivers [later Steiner's wife] has been appointed General Grand Secretary for the Lodges of Adoption.

The latter were Lodges in which both men and women were initiated. As far as I know the 'Mystica Aeterna' was the only Co-Masonic, i.e. 'mixed' Lodge, in Reuss's M. & M. business.

In his posthumous autobiography *The Story of My Life*, London, 1928, Steiner went to great lengths to minimise his previous connection with Reuss & Co. 'I never thought in the remotest degree of working in the spirit of such a society,' he wrote. And then: 'It had the form of Free Masonry of the so-called high degrees; but I took nothing else—absolutely nothing—from this society except the merely formal authorisation, in historic succession, to direct a symbolic-cultural activity.' The 'historic succession', it should be noted, was worthless. These protestations continue throughout three pages. Finally he claimed that 'this symbolic-cultural section of the anthroposophical movement came to an end in the middle of 1914.' It is

¹ Pseudo-Masonic aberrations such as the Rite of Memphis and Misraim appear to be far less common today than before 1914. For the most part they were the inventions of crackpots or adventurers. Reuss obtained his Memphis and Misraim charter in c. 1902 from John Yarker, of Manchester, who was a harmless eccentric. Yarker also sold or gave him a charter for the so-called Swedenborg Rite, which was also unorthodox. At the time of his death in 1886 Kenneth Mackenzie was its Supreme Grand Secretary. Westcott, too, was one of Reuss's benefactors because he gave him permission to establish a Societas Rosicruciana in Germania in 1902.

clear, however, that Steiner's Memphis and Misraim connection, or whatever deviation he had seen fit to organise, was in full swing when Felkin arrived on the scene in 1910.¹

It is evident that Felkin visited Steiner in Berlin or elsewhere in Germany in 1910 and was greatly impressed by him. It is apparent, too, that he was convinced that Steiner represented something far more important than the Theosophical Society, meaning that he supposed that Steiner's Theosophical activities merely provided a camouflage for a far more esoteric group. In short, Steiner could provide the hitherto missing link with the historical German Rosicrucian fraternity and therefore with the Secret Chiefs of the Third Order. I do not suggest that Steiner tried to persuade Felkin that this was the case. By now the reader will have gathered that Felkin was capable of believing almost anything.

Since Felkin could not remain in Germany to receive whatever teachings that Steiner might have to offer, he decided to send a certain Neville Meakin as his representative. Meakin, who lived at Ringwood in Hampshire, was in his forties and must have had sufficient private means for a lengthy absence from England. Before he departed the Arab Teacher was consulted. On 7 November 1910 Felkin asked: 'Shall Shemseddin [i.e. Meakin] go to Berlin and is it advantageous to see Steiner?' The answer was "'Yes" (decidedly).'

Waite was informed and offered his moral support. In *Shadows of Life and Thought* he wrote: 'On the even of his departure I conferred upon him the Grade of Adeptus Minor, acting as Adeptus Exemptus in Felkin's Stella Matutina Temple in Bassett Road. In this manner he carried with him the fullest Ritual advantage that was possible in his case at the time.'

So Meakin went to Berlin. The length of his stay there is unknown. In 1911 he began a longer journey which was intended to repeat Father Christian Rosenkreuz's legendary travels in the Middle East. The purpose of this symbolical pilgrimage is obscure. Once again the Arab Ara Ben Shemesh was consulted (5 July 1911): 'What about E[x] O[riente] L[ux—Meakin] going to Constantinople?' The answer was negative: 'A.B.S. does not want him to go. He says he is following after his own desires instead of the quest which was set before him. He ought to have gone to Damascus, but he cannot be driven . . .'

A.B.S. referred to Meakin again on 26 November 1911: 'Shemseddin is misdirecting his forces by misdirected energies; his time has not

¹ For a description of a ritual conducted by Steiner, see 'Ordensmeister Rudolph Steiner' by Heinrich Goesch in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, 15 September, 1921.

yet come but he is attracting destructive forces instead of repelling them and unless he ceases to do this he will die before his time, thereby missing the fulfilment of his destiny and vocation.' The Arab Teacher's prophecy came true because Meakin died suddenly and unexpectedly in c. 1912.¹

Dr Felkin and his wife proposed to visit Germany again in 1912. The Arab Teacher expressed his approval on 12 May: 'Have nothing to do with Mathers. Go on with Steiner which is the ultimate end of search. We will come into contact with many serious students who will lead us to the real Masters of our Order who will be so overpoweringly impressive as to leave no room for doubt.'

Brodie-Innes was becoming increasingly sceptical about Felkin's German connections and told him so on 11 June 1912, probably just before the Felkins left for Germany. Felkin wrote to him the same day.

I have come to the conclusion that we had better drop all discussion of German matters until such time as I can reply to the many points you raise. They want nothing from me, or from you. They offer me, and if you wish it, you through me, certain things which I want. I am not satisfied with the present situation, you seem to be [in], in other words you are content to rest your grades on the Cypher MSS, and a Ritual which certainly came through D.D.C.F. [Mathers] and him alone.

I on the other hand have felt from the time I first knew anything about the origin of the [G.D. in the] Outer and the Inner [Order, R.R. et A.C.] that it was very doubtful if it had any real connection with the real Rosicrucian Order *at all*. I have spent years and much money and work in trying to clear the matter up. I find that the Sprengel letters were real but that those who received them did not, as they should have done, follow them up. Had they done so the whole position would have been clear. I at last have come on the track of what I think is the *real thing* and I am on the way to get what I want but I am hampered in getting full information by being unable to go over and spend the necessary time myself.

The nature of Felkin's delusions is now becoming clearer. He had

¹ Before Meakin died he wrote the long letter to Baron C. A. Walleen about Steiner's proposed international pseudo-Masonic activities which will be found in Inquire Within's *Light-bearers of Darkness*, pp. 96-9, and Francis King's *Ritual Magic in England*, 1970, pp. 101-6. The 'Messrs. S. and C.' to whom there is a reference on p. 105 of Mr King's book were a Mr Sandrieux and Mr H. Collison, both of them members of the Anthroposophical Society. They had joined the Stella Matutina with a watching brief from Steiner.

persuaded himself that Steiner represented the true Rosicrucian tradition and that through him led the path to the highest initiation. We shall discover later that Felkin had invested the legendary Father Christian Rosenkreuz with an almost divine status.

Dr and Mrs Felkin had an eventful time in Germany.

In June and July 1912 Frater F.R. and Soror Q.L. were able to go to Germany, and altogether visited five Rosicrucian Temples in different parts of the Continent, and were initiated themselves, Soror Q.L. obtaining grades equivalent to our 7-4 and Frater F.R. 8-3. The rituals not being in MS. form, they are memorised.¹

According to Miss Stoddart's 'Investigations' typescript, when Dr and Mrs Felkin returned from Germany he said that he and his wife had been given grades equivalent to $8^{\circ} = 3^{\circ}$ and $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$. He was soaring to the heights of adeptship because even Mathers had never aspired to be more than $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$. 'F.R. also claims to have received from this German body authority to act as Head of the R.R. et A.C. in Great Britain . . . and was specially asked that he should give English Soc. Ros. Masons every opportunity of linking with them.' If this was true, then Steiner was hoping to infiltrate English Masonry.²

According to A. E. Waite, who had a long talk with Steiner when he was in London in 1912, Steiner confirmed that while in Germany the Felkins had 'witnessed certain things—no matter what they were—of a ceremonial kind'. Waite inferred that Steiner was unwilling to commit himself as far as Felkin was concerned.³ In any case I have the impression that almost everything that Frater Finem Respice, who lived in a world of dreams, said about his German connections, represented fantasy rather than the truth.

It was at about this time that Brodie-Innes broke with Felkin and

¹ See 'Inquire Within', *Light-bearers of Darkness*, 1930, p. 91. The Temples that Dr and Mrs Felkin visited were presumably Memphis and Misraim. In the absence of documentary evidence it would be unwise to try to link Steiner with Reuss's Ordo Templi Orientis (O.T.O.) which had a 'sex magic' secret in its highest degree. The O.T.O. was founded in Germany in c. 1906 and Aleister Crowley became the head of its British section, called *Mysteria Mystica Maxima*, in 1912. Dr Felkin was a member of the M.M.M. in 1914. 'Owes £2 and subscription for this year £3 3s. od. (Letter from Crowley to George Cowie, Grand Treasurer General, n.d. but 1914). There is no evidence that Felkin had achieved the ninth grade in which 'sex magic' was taught.

² Neville Meakin's long letter to Baron Walleen seems to have some connection with this. See Francis King, *Ritual Magic in England*, 1970, pp. 101-6

³ A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 223.

became Praemonstrator of Dr Berridge's Alpha and Omega Temple, which was under the Mathers obedience. Indeed, it is possible that he had had a foot in both camps for some time but without telling Felkin. The reason for the rift was his growing lack of enthusiasm for Felkin's new German connections. When Felkin returned to London they had a long talk on 27 July 1912. He dictated a record of their discussion and sent a copy to Brodie-Innes.

On 8 July 1912 S.S. [Brodie-Innes] wrote: 'I want to have a talk with you about MSS. and the two Orders. I feel sure that you and I working together can do big things, but it needs absolute mutual understanding.'

Having read that sentence to S.S., F.R. [Felkin] asked what he meant, whereon S.S. replied that he considered that if the teaching of the [Sun?] Order, the R.R. et A.C. and the Golden Dawn, and any teaching which F.R. could get hold of, were pooled, it would be possible for him and F.R. to obtain sole control of the Scottish Temple, Waite's Temple, the Berridge Temple, and one or two others, and so form an exceedingly strong occult group which would exercise great power in the world.

In order to do this it would be necessary for F.R. to recognise D.D.C.F. [Mathers] as head of the Rosicrucian Society, but he need not fear either any demand for money or any interference whatever in the working of the Temple.

He went on to say that D.D.C.F. was the sole surviving founder of the G.D. and R.R. et A.C. and that he was getting new and exceedingly powerful formulae from him and that he got new typed ceremonies for the $6 = 5$ and $7 = 4$ grades.

He expressed his full faith in D.D.C.F., although he said he was under no pledge to him and would throw him over tomorrow if he were sure he would gain more by doing so. S.S. said that he did not want more power but to be in a position to do more good to others.

He then asked what F.R. could give him if he threw over D.D.C.F., to which F.R. replied that in the meantime he could give him nothing whatever, for although he confessed that he had some new knowledge yet it was still unsystematised and a good deal of it in German.

Substitute a public company for a magical society and Brodie-

Innes could have been discussing plans for throwing the chairman overboard.

Westcott was still afraid that Mathers would again publicly accuse him of forging the Fräulein Sprengel letters and wrote to Felkin to ask him to confirm that 'Anna Sprengel did write letters to England and give permission such as I said I had received'. It will be recalled that Felkin had wanted to introduce him to Fräulein Anna Sprengel, his patient at Hanover, in 1910. Felkin was willing to oblige and on 6 September 1912 swore an affidavit to the effect that he had been in communication 'with a member of the said Anna Sprengel's family who was a patient of mine from March to June 1904 and again from June to July 1910'. He continued:

I met this lady at the railway station at Hanover on 8 July 1910 and together with my wife accompanied her to Kasten's Hotel. There I intended to introduce her to Dr. William Wynn Westcott but was unable to do so because he could not come.

Also on the same day I would have taken Dr. William Wynn Westcott to call on two gentlemen who were living at Döhren who were fully conversant with the correspondence and with all the circumstances concerned therewith.

Personal interviews with members of the Rosicrucian Order on the Continent in 1910 and 1912 had proved that Dr. William Wynn Westcott was in correspondence with Anna Sprengel and had permission from her to form a Society of the said G.D. in England.

None of my own German friends who are interested in these matters has been able to identify a contemporary Rosicrucian Society in Germany. And once again I believe that Felkin simply let his imagination run away with him. Years later, on 26 January 1921, the Rev. F. N. Heazell ('Evocatus Paratus'), a member of the Stella Matutina, wrote to Miss Stoddart to tell her that Felkin's daughter had told him that there were 'two people named Anna Sprengel and that F.R. [Dr Felkin] made a serious mistake in this matter'. Miss Ethel Felkin might have been thinking of Fräulein Alice Sprengel, who had been close to Rudolf Steiner, but it is not yet time to introduce her into this thicket of Sprengels.

On 15 September 1912 Felkin wrote to W. B. Yeats and briefly mentioned the affidavit that he had sworn for Dr Westcott. Yeats was still a member of the Stella Matutina and sufficiently active to be promoted to the senior Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade. His certificate,

which appears to be dated 10 January 1912, was signed both by Westcott and Felkin. Westcott declared that he had passed certain examinations, but the dates were not included, which was unusual. A certificate of this kind would never have passed muster in, say, 1895. It had taken Yeats a long time to reach the Theoricus grade because, after all, he had been a member of the R.R. et A.C. for close on twenty years.

Dr Felkin, his wife and daughter went to New Zealand in the autumn of 1912 and were away for about six months. While there he founded a branch of the Stella Matutina. There is a copy of a contemporary Warrant for a Temple there in the Private Collection.

The G.H. Chief Frater Aur Mem Mearab [Dr Felkin] 8 = 3 and the V.H. Soror Maim Chioth [Mrs. Felkin], Members of the R.R. et A.C. under the Obedience of the Rites of Germany and Great Britain, and the V.H. Soror Maria Poimandres [Miss Ethel Felkin] 6 = 5

permit three V.H. Fratres

Piscator Hominum 5 = 6

Kiora 5 = 6

Lux e Tenebris 5 = 6

to form and rule both the Inner and Outer Orders of the R.R. et A.C. and the Stella Matutina in Australasia.

For the Outer Order the Smaragdum Thalasses Temple of the Stella Matutina in the Outer.

Havelock North, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand [no date].

Brodie-Innes revived the Edinburgh Amen-Ra Temple in 1912-13. He now had Theoricus Adeptus Minor manuscripts which Felkin had never seen. Brodie-Innes wrote to him about these on 22 June 1913:

There will be no objection at all to my giving any of your members the Theoricus and higher Grades teaching when they are ready for it, providing that you can recognise me as Chief Adept in Anglia, or Scotia . . . I can give the teachings to Amen-Ra or to any other Temple that recognises me as a Chief. I think that if you will look on it on the analogy of a Church dealing with a dissenting body, you will see the force of the position.

Felkin must have written to ask by what authority Brodie-Innes claimed to be Chief Adept in Anglia or Scotia. The latter replied on 27 June:

Your last letter can be very simply answered. I received the MSS. as Deputy Archon Basileus in this country. And so I can pass them on to such as acknowledge my authority and position. This of course involves the recognition of Mathers, who has committed his authority to me.

As far as Brodie-Innes was concerned the position was very clear: no submission, no manuscripts.

In virtue of my advance, having studied everything and passed every examination and every test, I should be entitled to receive the MSS. [i.e. from Mathers] but I should not be entitled to pass them on. The fact is I have to take pledges not to do so . . . A priest has no right to give the sacrament to anyone who does not acknowledge his authority as a priest or his Orders . . .

Felkin was still not satisfied and probably wrote to ask by what right Brodie-Innes called himself Deputy Archon Basileus. The answer (5 August 1913) was simple enough: 'My commission as Deputy Archon Basileus comes from the Third Order, or not to make any ambiguity of words, from those Higher Adepts whom I so term . . .'

On 17 March 1914 Felkin drafted a 'Statement' for the information of his senior Adepts. The first paragraph has been quoted on p. 259. He went on to say that he had introduced Neville Meakin to the Third Order, hence Rudolf Steiner was clearly considered to have a status equivalent to that of a 'Secret Chief'. Next he claimed that he and his wife had been respectively given grades equivalent to the G.D.'s $8^{\circ} = 3^{\circ}$ and $7^{\circ} = 4^{\circ}$. Hence if Felkin was $8^{\circ} = 3^{\circ}$ he was senior to both Mathers and Brodie-Innes.

I am told that neither Woodman, Westcott nor Mathers are or ever were real R.C.'s [Rosicrucians] at all.

Moreover I am forbidden to work with Mathers or with anyone working with him. For this reason I cannot, as I told him, work with our Frater S.S. [Brodie-Innes]. I understand that lately he, Frater S.S., has said that he was initiated many years ago in Germany. This, I am told is untrue as far as the real Order is concerned. And if it is true, why did he write to Germany and ask for initiation in 1912? I and Q.L. [Mrs Felkin] saw his letter, which was not replied to.

Dr and Mrs Felkin, who were accompanied by Miss Stoddart, were at Bad Pyrmont at the beginning of August 1914. The latter, in her 'Investigations' typescript, mentioned that she was 'quite ignorant

as to their reason for being there'. However, she knew later and in *Light-bearers of Darkness* was able to publish an extract from a memorandum written by Dr Felkin on 9 June 1918:

From what I was told abroad I was under the impression . . . that a few, I was told TWELVE, were to be picked out of all the Temples to help C.R.C. [Christian Rosenkreuz] when he again manifested in 1926-33 or 35. The whole of that was to have been told me face to face in 1914 when we went to Germany. We had tickets there which took us to a place S.S.E. of Austria, where we were to have been met and been taken to the Old Vault, and also to have met several Hidden Chiefs.

The Twelve who were to be picked out of all the Temples may have represented the twelve Apostles and Christian Rosenkreuz's expected manifestation could be equated with the Second Coming. The idea that they were actually going to be conducted to the 'Old Vault', i.e. Christian Rosenkreuz's tomb, was pure fantasy.

Dr Felkin must have been so wrapped up in his Rosicrucian dream-world that he ignored the writing on the wall: the German ultimatum to Russia and France on 31 July, the French general mobilisation on 1 August and the German declaration of war on Russia that same day. They had come to Germany with a task to be fulfilled and were not to be diverted.

Miss Stoddart made her own hurried departure on 2 August, the day before the German declaration of war on France. With her she took a letter written by Mrs Felkin to an unidentified Frater.

Bad Pyrmont
2nd August 1914

Care V.H. Frater,

F.R. [Dr Felkin] wants you to explain to as many of the Fratres and Sorores as possible that we are staying in Germany because we have come here on definite business given to us for that purpose we feel it our bounden duty to accomplish the task set us. We are now awaiting letters from two members of the 3rd Order which will I hope decide our movements.

Please also ask all members you know not to send us post cards with any abbreviations or Order names, even letters had better avoid these and begin and end in ordinary form. If you pass this letter on to Q[uis] S[eperabit—Miss Childers], R.D.C. [unidentified] and Miss Hughes ['Lux Orta Est'] they

will spread it among the rest. We anticipate no actual danger but there may be some delay and inconvenience. I send this per Miss Stoddart who is returning at once.

Yours fraternally,
Q.

For the time being we leave the Felkins at Bad Pyrmont, still supposing that they would see the 'Old Vault' and meet several Hidden Chiefs.

* * *

All Ends in Confusion

Dr and Mrs Felkin were still in Germany on 14 August 1914 when their daughter sent a circular letter to members of the Second Order to say that they would be 'unable to communicate with us until after the war is over'. This document was signed by 'Maria Poimandres (Q.A.), Chief in Charge'. However, they eventually managed to return to London. According to Miss Stoddart: 'It was mainly due, we believe, to the help given to him by the Masons in Hanover and Amsterdam that he and Q.L. at last got out of Germany.'¹

In the meantime Felkin had concocted a 6° = 5° ritual. In the Private Collection there is a description, probably written by Felkin, of W. B. Yeats, in the role of Postulant, experiencing this ceremony on 16 October 1914. The Vault and the Pastos were used. Hence the Stella Matutina had built its own unless it had acquired the original Isis-Urania Temple properties from Waite, who was no longer active in a G.D. context.² At one point Yeats was required to lie down in the coffin. He heard 'the ringing of the thirty-six bells' and the corresponding sentences.

At the Thirteenth Bell he is faint; at the Fourteenth he is very cold; at the Sixteenth he again emerges into a further higher plane; at the Seventeenth he is like a transparent rainbow. The Colours of the Planets play upon him. Then they merge into brilliant Light and for the rest of the Bells he shone with it. The Rising from the Tomb and the Sprinkling appear to involve a very great and serious effort on the part of both Postulant and Officers. . . .

¹ 'Inquire Within', *Light-bearers of Darkness*, 1930, p. 93.

² 'In 1914 I put an end to the Isis-Urania or Mother Temple, owing to internecine feuds on the authenticity of documents. A few persons attempted to carry on by themselves, but it proved a failure. Of a new Rite which arose, as if from the dead ashes, there will be a word to say in conclusion; but there is no story to tell, either by myself or another. May that most sacred centre give up no outward form.'—A. E. Waite, *Shadows of Life and Thought*, 1938, p. 229.

Dr Felkin had obtained from Steiner certain 'Continental processes' which appear to have resembled yoga exercises of some kind. Advanced members of the Stella Matutina were not allowed to send details of them in the post or carry written notes on their persons. According to a document issued in 1915:

After all these processes have been successfully accomplished and the student has become clairvoyant, there are three other methods which may be given which will enable the student to get visions in the Akasic Records at definite periods of the world's history. These three processes are indicated upon the diagrams which may only be shown in the Temple. [A description of the method follows.] The first symbol should enable him to read the Akasic Records before Christ, the second one at the time of Christ and the third one at the present time.

On 9 January 1915 the Arab Teacher Ara Ben Shemesh told Dr Felkin, his wife and daughter, that a special group for healing should be formed. 'It should be called the Healers or Therapists and now is the time and Frater Fitzgerald should definitely be made the head of it, and those who wish to follow that training should be taken from all the different Temples and kept in touch with one another.'

The Frater was the Rev. J. C. Fitzgerald ('Deus Meus Deus'), of Falmouth, who had formerly been connected with the Anglican House of the Resurrection at Mirfield, Yorkshire. In *Light-bearers of Darkness* Miss Stoddart asked: 'Has not this eventuated in the Stella Matutina Healing Guild of St Raphael, which is therefore Continental and International Freemasonry?'¹

In November 1915 Dr Felkin gave his followers some fascinating information about Father Christian Rosenkreuz and the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Orders. Mathers had never had any contact with these.

First I will try to explain what I think most of you do not quite realise. The actual as well as the nominal Head of the Inner Order, is our Father in God, C.R.C. himself, who gives us directions and instructions from time to time through Members who are clairvoyant and clairsaudient to such an extent that they are able to receive them.

¹ 'Inquire Within', *Light-bearers of Darkness*, 1930, p. 102. By the early 1920s 'International Freemasonry' and its alleged machinations had become Miss Stoddart's pet obsession. In *Ritual Magic in England* Mr Francis King confidently asserted that the founders of the Guild of St Raphael, which still exists, 'were, almost without exception, members of the Stella Matutina' (p. 129), but offered no proof.

In addition to them there are certain Members who still function on the material plane; most of these live very secluded lives and can only be met with after much difficulty has been overcome. E.O.L. [i.e. Neville Meakin] met some of them when he went abroad on pilgrimage before passing beyond. Q.L. [Mrs Felkin] and myself have also met them at various times and received instructions and help (in 1904, 1909 and 1912).

These members form what has been known to us as the 'Third' Order and it is their business to look after the various Temples and to give advice when required. Most of them live abroad in various countries but one lives in England and I have called him 'The Unknown' or 'Epopt', because for most of you he must remain behind the veil.

We have been told by some of these that C.R.C. [Christian Rosenkreuz] himself expects to manifest again on the material plane before very long. I do not know whether he will return as an infant, or whether as sometimes happens he may assume a suitable body which has already reached maturity.

Hitherto we have spoken loosely of Three Orders. Now it will be possible to define a little more clearly the different Grades, since during the last three years we have received several of the Higher Grades, which we hope to pass on to those who are ready for them before we leave you [i.e. for New Zealand].

Dr Felkin related all the 'Orders', from the sixth to the second inclusive, to the higher Sephiroth of the Tree of Life.

Kether 10 = 1. Our Father C.R.C. (Sixth Order).

Chokmah and Binah, 9 = 2. Members on the Material Plane, but secluded (Fifth Order).

Daath, 8 = 3. Members who may be contacted actively (Fourth Order).

{ Chesed, 7 = 4. Your own highest Members } (Third Order)
{ Geburah, 6 = 5. Next highest Members }

Tipareth, 5 = 6. (Second Order).

0 = 0 to Portal inclusive (First Order).

Finally I think you would find it of great assistance if you could set aside one or two of the more clairvoyant and clairsaudient Members to act as a sort of Delphic Oracle. The duty of these Members would be to go to the Vault, either alone or together as may seem best, and get direct instruction from C.R.C. himself.

There is a further reference to the 'Epopt' in a letter written by Felkin to an unidentified Frater on 7 November 1915. The 'Epopt' could have been Westcott; it is difficult to think of anyone else in England who was qualified to play this mysterious role.

With regard to the Epopt, I regret that it is impossible for me to give you further information at present, except that he has attained a high Grade (hence the suggested title, which in fact means 'one who has been initiated in the Greater Mysteries'). He will not act until I actually leave and he does not wish to be known at present. Even when he takes office it will be with the proviso that only a few of you shall be in personal communication with him and the general Members will not be told who he is.

A contemporary document (11 November 1915) indicates the size of the Stella Matutina at this time. There were eighty-three Outer Order members (forty-three men and forty women) and forty in the Second Order.

On 25 November Felkin wrote to an unidentified Frater and mentioned that he proposed to make a statutory declaration in the presence of his solicitor to the following effect:

1. That E.O.L. [Neville Meakin], Q.L. [Mrs Felkin] and I had the Grades in Bavaria.
2. That C.R. [Christian Rosenkreuz], whose name was C . . . P . . . was to the best of my belief born on 14th September 1378.
3. That I have made a Will in favour of three Fratres giving them the power to carry on the Order here. (This by the way has been in my safe from before I went to New Zealand three years ago.)
4. That I have also in my safe a document leaving my rights in the old rolls of the Order at present in the charge of Waite's solicitors. They are in our joint names and we have the right to pass our rights on to our successors.

With the exception of the second paragraph the proposed declaration is rational enough, but the reference to the date of the mythical Christian Rosenkreuz's birth betrays Felkin's vivid imagination or credulity.

In July 1916 Felkin founded three new Temples. The first was Hermes No. 28 at Bristol. Its three Chiefs were all women: Mrs M. Mackenzie ('Magna Est Veritas'), Miss C. E. Hughes ('Lux Orta Est')

and Miss Ada Severs ('Benedicamus Deo').¹ The second new foundation was in London. Felkin wrote: 'There are some fifty or sixty members of the Temple which used to be ruled by Waite, also a number of members of the Anthroposophical Society who are seeking admission. They are to form a Temple on their own, because they have been working on different lines to the Stella Matutina and would undoubtedly cause confusion in the Stella Matutina Temple.' The Chiefs were Peter Birchall ('Cephas'), Colonel Webber Smith ('Non Sine Numine'), a veteran member of the old G.D., and 'Benedic Animo Mea Domino', whom I have not been able to identify. The third Temple was to be restricted to members of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia and to be known as The Secret College in London. Its Chiefs were Dr W. Hammond ('Pro Rege et Patria'), Dr Carnegie Dickson ('Fortes Fortuna Juvat') and A. Cadbury Jones ('Faire Sans Dire'), who were to officiate respectively as Emperor, Praemonstrator and Cancellarius.

At this point the Felkin family left for New Zealand, the Doctor happily in the possession of a paper signed by Westcott confirming his appointment as Inspector of the Australasian Colleges of the Soc. Ros. The Arab Teacher continued to communicate with him, but early in September 1918, according to Felkin: 'When A.B.S. came on Sunday he told us that after six weeks we were to call him no more as his work for us was done then, and he asked us to tell all who had been to his meetings in London *not* to call him again.' However, there were other and less welcome visitors. He wrote to Miss Stoddart on 22 September 1918:

I wonder if you got me [telepathically?] during the last 48 hours? I do not know what happened to me on the higher planes, but I have been away from here most of the time. All is fog. At the Equinox I had at one time, when the outer door was opened and shut, a big fight to keep out some awful presence. I did it, but since I have had a bad headache and queer visions and both nights was far away and could bring nothing back at all.

By 1919, according to Miss Stoddart, the Stella Matutina was 'rent by dissensions, jealousies, underground whisperings and open strife and rebellion'.² She herself 'was induced to enter the Anglican Church,

¹ According to Mr Francis King the present-day successor at Bristol to Hermes No. 28 is called Hermanubis and has a daughter Temple in London called Isis-Urania. See *Ritual Magic in England*, pp. 168-75.

² *Light-bearers of Darkness*, p. 133.

partly in order to establish confidence among the clergy, whom the masters hoped to entangle in their net, and also to create the necessary uplift and atmosphere in which to fix the etheric link.¹ By this time she was suffering from delusions and was expecting a 'Great Initiation' from Christian Rosenkreuz and his Twelve Brethren, i.e. Apostles. This initiation was experienced in a London church on Thursday 17 April 1919 at a Tenebrae service on the eve of Good Friday.

Suddenly, without warning, the Lord of Light and his Twelve Brethren attempted to give the Chief [i.e. Miss Stoddart] this Initiation . . . Easter is a special time for Illuminati black magic. They said it meant 'death and disintegration'. Briefly, before the entrance of the officiating clergy, the Chief saw in place of the altar the great Vault of the inner Order, into which the Twelve Brethren, in black habits with cowls over their heads, were hurriedly entering, and almost at once a dazzling light was focused upon the Chief, and above in this astral fire was the Lord of Light. A sharp pain seized the heart, followed by a curious creeping faintness, and it required all the Chief's determined will to prevent complete trance, but as the clergy entered, gradually the light faded and the faintness passed . . .

. . . and then followed the most extraordinary astral persecution, unexpected attacks, forces, overpowering scents and projections of astral light, etc., all in an attempt to induce trance or work upon the adepts physically and astrally in the hope of controlling them and others through them.²

She wrote to Dr Felkin for advice. He replied on 10 July 1919.

I think it would be better if, instead of fearing imaginary black Rosicrucians in Germany or elsewhere, you would consciously endeavour to co-operate with the true Rosicrucians who do undoubtedly exist, and are seeking to guide Central European thought into the Light; you would then belong to the Great Work for the world.³

In a letter written to Dr Felkin on 6 April 1920 she mentioned that she had 'very grave doubts as to the origins of our Order and the source of our Inner Teachings', and with the help of Dr Hammond proposed to make a thorough investigation. 'You will realise that it is but fair to us that you should give us the necessary information

¹ *ibid.*, p. 136.

² *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

³ *ibid.*, p. 139.

and put one of us at least in touch with our true Continental Centre. Under no other terms am I willing to carry on this work.'

In any case the Stella Matutina's Amoun Temple was now inactive. 'The Temple is at present closed for various reasons—police activities, the School of Silence has been investigated and the police requested that they should be present at a meditation. We have no desire to be raided under present circumstances. We had no equinox ceremony.'

She wrote again on 3 June. The Rev. Will Reason ('Semper Sperans'), Co-Chief of Amoun Temple with Heazell and herself, had resigned and Dr Hammond had been co-opted in his place. They had agreed that the Order should remain inactive until the end of September so that they could scrutinise its origins.

You must realise that unless we know the SOURCE of OUR INNER Teaching and the foundations of our Order, also may I add unless we get further teachings from a recognised source we are merely the blind leading the blind—and into what snares and pitfalls . . . If we are merely a school of experimental Occultism then we must make all members recognise the risks and the responsibilities they are taking upon themselves when they join us.

Felkin replied on 21 July 1920. With the exception of a very brief letter written a week later this was the last communication that she received from him. He said that the time had come for him to 'give up any personal direction of the London Temple of the R.R. et A.C.'. However, he was sending his son and daughter to Europe.

With regard to our Continental connection [i.e. with Steiner] I am sending by Quaero Altissima and N.N. [his son], both of whom have introductions from me to the Continent, three letters of introduction which may be used by one person or three . . . Unfortunately Yeats will not do, as he has already been offered and refused, also I may tell you privately that I have heard that he or his wife have been talking too freely in America about the Order and its present troubles. He never was very reticent.

Miss Felkin was in London by October 1920 and soon went to Germany to see Steiner. There was talk of Dr Carnegie Dickson visiting him but nothing seems to have happened. Miss Felkin was back in England again in January 1921 and tried to get possession of the Stella Matutina archives but Miss Stoddart was able to prevent this. It was at this time that Miss Felkin admitted that there were 'two

people named Anna Sprengel' and that her father had made a 'serious mistake over this matter'.

When Miss Felkin returned to New Zealand at the end of April 1921 the Stella Matutina was close to collapse. Acting on instructions cabled by her father she had tried to expel Miss Stoddart but failed, largely because of a general lack of confidence in him. It was Felkin's connection with Steiner that had bedevilled the situation. H. Collison, who had joined the Order with a watching brief from Steiner but had now resigned, explained Steiner's attitude in a letter written to an unidentified Frater on 8 May 1921. This document suggests that he had never taken either Felkin or the Stella Matutina very seriously.

The following is what I gathered from an interview with Dr. Steiner in Holland last March.

1. Dr. Felkin was a spectator at one of Dr. Steiner's ceremonies in Munich several years ago. No grades have been given to him by Dr. Steiner. No grades were given to him in Munich. But Dr. Steiner gave Dr. Felkin a great deal of instruction, such as he gives to other people who desire it.
2. Several visits have been paid by various enquirers to castles and other places in Austro-Hungary, but there has never been any true or practical result from these researches.
3. Dr. Felkin was anxious to get a charter from Dr. Steiner and made many attempts to gain this and be appointed his sole representative in England . . . Dr. Steiner said that he was unable to grant this request.
4. Dr. Steiner cannot say that the forces in the Order are good or bad, but in all spiritualistic practices under the old form of clairvoyance which is resorted to in the Felkin Order, self-deception is very possible and forces may enter which are beyond the power or understanding of those physically present.
5. The Order is decorative and useful to those who need it and are able to distinguish between mere ornament and reality.

Miss Stoddart was still trying to get to the bottom of the 'Anna Sprengel' mystery. If this could only be solved, then a lot else might become clear. There must have been some correspondence with W. B. Yeats, because it was he who suggested that she should write to Edouard Schuré, the author of the well-known book *Les grands initiés*, 1889.¹ Having received two letters from her and one from

¹ Edouard Schuré (1841-1929) had known Steiner well but broke with him in 1916. See C. Schneider, *Edouard Schuré's Begegnung mit Steiner*, Basle, 1933.

H. Collison, he eventually replied to Mr Landrieux on 8 August 1921 and now they learned of the existence of yet another Fräulein Sprengel. Schuré wrote:

I have never heard of Miss Anna Sprengel, supposed to have died in 1893. I have known a certain Mlle Sprengel, who was a member of the Anthroposophical Society of Dr. Steiner and who performed as Persephone in my drama *Eleusis* between 1908 and 1912, a drama which was performed by this society under the direction of Dr. Steiner, and later as Theodora (a clairvoyante) in a mystic drama by the same Doctor. I heard later that this person (who had a theatrical talent of no mean order) had left the Society at the time Dr. Steiner married Mlle de Sivers [24 December 1914] because they said Mlle Sprengel was hoping, so it was said, to marry the Doctor. Those are tales without interest and it seems to me doubtful that this Mlle Sprengel had any connection with the one you mention who would be the moving spirit of a new occult order. Neither do I know Dr. Felkin.

There is no evidence that Dr Felkin ever met this particular Fräulein Sprengel, whose first name was Alice. I shall deal briefly with her in order to elucidate the last of the Sprengels who flit in and out of the Golden Dawn saga.

Steiner wrote four mystical dramas between 1910-13. The first was *Die Pforte der Einweihung*, which was described as a 'Rosicrucian Mystery', in which Alice Sprengel played the role of Theodora. It was performed at Munich at the Theater am Gärtnerplatz on 15 August 1910 between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. with one interval that lasted scarcely an hour.¹

Pastor M. Kully, of Basle-Arlesheim, who published two books attacking Steiner and his teachings during the early 1920s, identified her as being a member of the Doctor's 'Inner Group' and, furthermore, of German-British parentage.² Gregor Schwarz-Bostunitsch also mentioned her, although not by name, in his anti-Steiner polemic.³

In 1957 Mr Gerald Yorke asked Dr Heinrich Wendt, a criminal

¹ See Max Gümbel-Seiling, *Mit Rudolf Steiner in München*, The Hague, 1946, pp. 62-3.

² See M. Kully, *Das Geheimnis des Tempels von Dornach*, vol. ii, 1921, p. 21. See also his *Die Wahrheit über die Theo-Anthroposophie als eine Kultur-Verfallserscheinung*, Basle, 1926.

³ Gregor Schwarz-Bostunitsch, *Doktor Steiner—ein Schwindler wie Keiner*, 1930, p. 8. He used Dr Max Seiling's *Die Anthroposophische Bewegung und ihr Prophet*, 2nd ed. 1921, which I have not seen.

judge resident at Mannheim, to make enquiries about the Sprengel family generally. As might be expected, Dr Wendt could provide no information about the original Anna Sprengel. However, he wrote to Mr Yorke about Alice Sprengel:

Alice Sprengel (b. 28 September 1871, d. Bern, Switzerland, 1949) was the illegitimate child of a nobleman and the daughter of a Lutheran pastor from Pomerania. To avoid a scandal the mother went to Scotland and the child was born there. In her youth she lived at South Shields in Yorkshire. She then returned to Berlin. There she was active in Theosophical circles and became acquainted with Rudolph Steiner.

She had probably been a member of Steiner's Mystica Aeterna Lodge (see p. 263). In any event in c. 1915 she became Theodor Reuss's secretary and hence involved in his O.T.O. activities.¹

In the meantime Miss Stoddart industriously continued her researches. On 5 April 1922 she wrote to Dr Hammond and told him that she had come to the conclusion that 'the history of the Order consists of a long series of mystifications, the one following and overlapping the other'. These 'mystifications', she proposed, began with the Cypher MS. and the Anna Sprengel letters. Then, in the following order, she referred to 'the Hidden and Secret Chiefs', 'C.R.C. in the Vault', the alleged contact with the Third Order through the Sun Masters, the Arab Teacher Ara Ben Shemesh, the Lord of Light and the Twelve Brethren and finally Dr Felkin's supposed Continental authority.

'A curious fact is,' she wrote, 'that from the day I first examined the Order papers at the end of 1919 and all this time while I have been trying to get evidence, the opposition of these evil forces has at times been tremendous, and it is always greatest when dealing with the Sun Masters' papers and Ara Ben Shemesh's ...'

The first version of her 'Investigations' typescript was ready by

¹ According to Dr Wendt she was at Ascona with Reuss in 1917. Reuss's connection with Henri Oedenkoven's and Ida Hoffmann's extraordinary vegetarian colony at Ascona is described in Robert Landmann, *Monte Verità*, 3rd ed., 1934, pp. 142-7. She was running an O.T.O. Lodge at Locarno in 1937. See Gregor A. Gregorius (i.e. Eugen Grosche) in *Blätter für Lebenskunst*, August 1956, p. 3. The latter was the periodical of the German Fraternitas Saturni Lodge (founded c. 1926 by Grosche). It was 'Thelemite', meaning that it regarded Aleister Crowley as an Occult Master. The Lodge was closed by the Nazis in 1933 and was revived by Grosche in 1950.

15 June 1922 and about a dozen copies were circulated. On the same day she compiled a list of the names and addresses of the forty-five people who were members of the Stella Matutina's Second Order. With the exception of W. B. Yeats, who was described as 'Imperator', presumably of the Amoun Temple, and Miss Kate Moffatt ('Servio Liberaliter'), of Edinburgh, there were no other survivors of the Order's great days during the 1890s.

Latterly the Stella Matutina's Amoun Temple had been at Miss Stoddart's home at 56 Redcliffe Gardens in the Earls Court district. On 25 March 1923 she wrote to an unidentified Frater from her brother's home in Essex: 'At last I am free from No. 56! Never again for me! It is very nice out here and it is a great relief to have got rid of that awful incubus—house and Order.' In the meantime the papers now in the 'Private Collection' had been handed to a colleague for safe-keeping.

W. B. Yeats probably left the Stella Matutina at this time. In the Notes at the end of *Autobiographies* he mentioned that his connection with the Order 'ended amid quarrels caused by men, otherwise worthy, who claimed a Rosicrucian sanction for their fantasies'. He was careful to add that to prevent needless correspondence he was no longer a member of any 'Cabbalistic Society'.

At this point this chronicle can be brought to a close. An account of the post-1923 Temples which continued to keep the Golden Dawn tradition more or less alive will be found in Mr Francis King's *Ritual Magic in England*, and I have nothing to add to his story.

Mathers died in France on 20 November 1918. It is extraordinary how little is known of his life after 1900. According to Yeats during the First World War he turned his house into a recruiting office and raised six hundred volunteers for the Foreign Legion.

Westcott spent his last years at Durban where he was Vice-President of two Theosophical Society Lodges. He continued to correspond with Gardner, who was busy examining his horoscope for portents of his own imminent death. Westcott had to reassure him twice during the summer of 1922: 'I do not feel in the Astral Light that you are likely to end for some years yet', and 'I do not see any fatal issue for a long while, but likely an illness . . . I see you alive this time next year,' he wrote.

A year before Westcott died on 30 June 1925 he informed Gardner that no further contact with the Secret Chiefs of the Third or any other Order could be expected for the time being: 'I see no reason to think that any supra-normal beings or Masters have divulged any

secret knowledge for the last ten years at least . . . There is no Great Teacher coming to manifest before 1925, even if then.'

* *

Postscript

Westcott clearly supposed that contact with the 'Great White Lodge' and its denizens had been lost or at least suspended. While the Secret Chiefs were inactive at the time when Westcott died in South Africa, their self-appointed representatives conferred in Germany at Weida, a remote Thuringian village. Aleister Crowley recalled this meeting in a letter written to Gerald Yorke on 5 December 1945.

In June '25 [I was] invited to the H.Q. of one of the Secret Brotherhoods in Germany . . . the secret heads of other bodies joined us. The genuine representatives of H.P. Blav[atsky] were Otto Gebhardi and Martha Kuentzel.¹ In all eight of us excluding self who represented the secret councils of all the important Orders of the Great White Brotherhood. A general council was convened and an attestation was prepared. This summarised the situation and its effect was to elect me as the Secret Head of all those bodies.

The truth or otherwise of Crowley's claim to be a Supreme Chief need not be discussed here. However, the so-called Weida Conference is not without its importance in the obscure annals of the extraordinary German occultist movement that flourished underground between c. 1920 and its eventual destruction by the Nazis after 1933. In any event it was Crowley, once Frater Perdurabo but now the Master Therion, a child of the Golden Dawn but certainly not its favourite son, who was eventually regarded by some Germans and Swiss as the Great Initiate. This belief in his authority survives even today in certain German and Swiss groups, notably at Stein, near Zürich, where the Ecclesia Gnostica Catholica, a branch of the Order of the Templars of the Orient, still performs his Gnostic Mass.

The Hermetische Orden der Goldene Dämmerung, i.e. the G.D., was on the Gestapo's list of proscribed occult organisations. Although the Order never existed in Germany they were taking no chances. It was probably mistakenly associated with Reuss's Order of the

¹ 'In the course of her work she became convinced that Adolf Hitler was her Magical Child.'—Crowley in the letter quoted above.

Templars of the Orient (O.T.O.) which was moribund in Germany by 1933.¹ Again, when the Germans occupied Austria in 1938 all Austrian civil servants were required to fill in a questionnaire and state whether or not they were members of any one of fifty Masonic or occult Lodges, including the G.D.²

There are allusions to the G.D. in Louis Pauwels's and Jacques Bergier's sensational best-seller *Le Matin des Magiciens*, 1960. As might be expected they had no difficulty in adding to the G.D. mythology, e.g. by stating that Bram Stoker, the author of *Dracula*, and Sax Rohmer, the creator of the 'Dr Fu Manchu' mystery stories which were popular during the 1920s, were both in the Order. They were on safer ground when discussing the writer Arthur Machen's membership,³ but blundered badly when they recorded that W. B. Yeats presided at ceremonies wearing a kilt with a golden dagger tucked into his belt and wearing a black mask.

Friends have drawn my attention to two recent pornographic novels in which the Order's name is connected with every kind of present-day sexual perversion. The curious are referred to Joel Harris's *Inpenetrable*, place and date of publication unstated but probably printed *sub rosa* in England on a small-offset press. A Lord and Lady Aston ran a Golden Dawn Society at an elegant house in Eaton Square. Its members were more interested in flagellation than in Magic. Next there is James Harvey's fictional *Memoir of Aleister Crowley*, an American paperback published in 1967. 'A German woman simply known as Fräulein Anna who operated a Berlin-based Chapter of the Order of the Golden Dawn fell in love with Crowley and she became his Scarlet Woman' (p. 30).

This coupling, as it were, of the Greatly Honoured Soror Sapiens Dominabitur Astris and Frater Perdurabo might be construed, at least by the irreverent, as an example of poetic justic.

¹ The appropriate office in Heinrich Himmler's Reichssicherheitshauptamt no doubt carefully read the extraordinary series of articles on Theodor Reuss, the G.D. and Crowley that was published in the anti-Semitic periodical *Der Judenkenner* in 1936. Their author suggested that Fräulein Sprengel was Reuss's tool and planted the Cypher MS. on Westcott on his behalf.

² *Blätter für Lebenskunst*, August 1956, p. 18.

³ I have discovered only two references to Machen (Frater Avallaunius) in the available documents. He was 3° = 8° and hence a relatively unimportant member of the Outer Order in 1900.

Appendix I

* * *

Cypher MS.—First Leaf of Neophyte Ritual

A transcript in Westcott's handwriting includes the following note: 'The initials at the beginning of lines are H, Hs and Hg. We have chosen the titles Hierophant, Hieres and Hegemon and K. for Kerux? Stol, Stolistes? Dad = dadouchos.' For the Greek origins of these titles see p. 58.

In the Cypher MS. the outlines for the Neophyte ritual were written on six small sheets of paper (c. 8 x 6½ in.). For Mathers's expansion of the material see Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn*, ii, pp. 11-43. A transcript of the first leaf follows. Some parallel examples of Mathers's text are also given.

nought = nought

opening

all assemble and put on sashes collars lamens

H ./ [one knock] fratres and sorores of this temple of the golden dawn assist me to open in the grade of neophyte

K hekas hekas este bebeloi [in Greek characters]

H see to guarding and who present

H who are the officers

Hs they are H Hs and Hg principal

H what have these in common

Hs the letter h—emblem of breath and life

H what other officers

Hs stolistes dadouchos and kerux and a sentinel who is outside and armed

Dad I am in the south with censer and am heat [*Mathers: My station is in the South to symbolise Heat and Dryness, and my duty is to see that the Lamps and Fires of the Temple are ready at the opening, to watch over the Censer and Incense and to consecrate the Hall and the Fratres and Sorores with Fire.*]

Stol I am in north with water and am cold and moisture

Appendix I

[*Mathers: My station is in the North to symbolise Cold and Moisture, and my duties are to see that the Robes and Collars and Insignia of the Officers are ready at the Opening, to watch over the Cup of Lustral Water and purify the Hall and the Fratres and Sorores with Water.*]

K I am inside door I arrange hall I carry lamp announce report and lead all circumambulations [*Mathers: My place is within the portal. My duties are to see that the furniture of the Hall is properly arranged at the Opening, to admit the Fratres and Sorores, and to watch over the reception of the Candidate; to lead all Mystic Circumambulations carrying the Lamp of my Office, and to make all reports and announcements. My Lamp is the symbol of the Hidden Knowledge, and my Wand is the symbol of its directing power.*]

Hg I am between pillars and preside over symbolic gate of occultism I reconcile light and darkness my white robe is purity and I carry a mitre headed sceptre = religion to guide and regulate life and guide higher aspirations of soul [*Mathers: My station is between the Two Pillars of Hermes and Solomon and my face is towards the cubical Altar of the Universe. My duty is to watch over the Gate-way of the Hidden Knowledge for I am the reconciler between Light and Darkness. I watch over the preparation of the Candidate and assist in his reception and I lead him in the Path that conducts from Darkness to Light. The White Colour of my Robe is the colour of Purity, my ensign of office is a Mitre-headed sceptre to symbolise religion which guides and regulates life, and my Office symbolises those higher aspirations of the soul which should guide its action.*]

Appendix II

* * *

The Practicus Adeptus Minor Curriculum

Members of the Second Order who had passed all the examinations for promotion to the senior $5^{\circ} = 6^{\circ}$ grade of Theoricus Adeptus Minor were already practical Magicians, at least in theory. An even more advanced course, leading to the grade of Practicus Adeptus Minor, was envisaged but cannot have been implemented. The following document was issued by Mathers and Westcott, probably in 1896-7, but certainly before Westcott's retirement as Chief Adept in Anglia in the spring in 1897. It can be inferred that anyone who knew sufficient to pass the 'Rigid Examination' would have very superior claims to Magical competence.

List of Studies appointed for the Grade of Practicus Adeptus Minor

Each Theoricus Adeptus Minor shall make or adapt or consecrate himself the Ring and Disk of a Theoricus for use in Divination and Consultation.

The same Ring, or a similar one, is to be worn as a Badge of his Grade, suspended from a Ribbon of one, or of all, the four colours of Malkuth.

He or she shall carefully study and practise, himself or herself, in the following subjects, in which a Rigid Examination will have to be passed before the Grade of Practicus Adeptus Minor can be attained.

1. Careful study of the Symbolism contained in the Zelator Ritual of the First Order, so as to be able to explain any part thereof. A lecture on this subject will be available.

2. Development of the Sense of Clairaudience in the Spirit Vision.

3. The Knowledge of the Ritual of the XII Gates in Skrying and Travelling in the Spirit Vision; answering to the Diagram of the Table of Shewbread.

4. The method of bringing the Divine White Brilliance into Action by a certain Ritual of Ascent and Descent.

5. Careful and elaborate Clairvoyant Study and Analysis of the Four Squares above the Calvary Crosses in each Lesser Angle of the Four Enochian Tablets, and of their influence when combined with the Servient Squares in each Lesser Angle.

6. Development of the employment and uses of Telesmata and Symbols.

7. Of the combination of divers Forces so as to reconcile their action in the same Symbol of Telesma.

8. The Egyptian Art of the formation of a combined series of Images of Gods or Forces, so as to have the effect of a continuous Prayer or Invocation for the Power desired.

9. The knowledge of ShDIALchi or the Art of taking, in any working, the God Form which would govern the same; by means of identification with a Telematic Figure.

10. The true system of Astrological Divination.

11. Of the correspondence existing between each of the 16 figures of Geomancy, and each of the 16 Lesser Angles of the Enochian Tablets treated as a whole.

12. Tarot Divination translated into Magical action.

13. The Knowledge of the Secret Ritual of the symbolism of the order of the Days of the Week of Creation, answering to the diagram of the Seven-branched Candlestick.

14. The thorough elementary knowledge of the Formulas of the Awakening of the Abodes, by means of the Playe or Raying of the Chequers of the Lesser Angles of the Enochian Tablets.

15. The opening of the knowledge of the Masculine and Feminine Potencies necessary unto the manifestation of all things symbolised in the diagram of the Flaming Sword between MTTRVN and SNDLPVN.

Note: Manuscript Lectures upon these subjects will be circulated among the Theorici Adepti Minores, at such intervals, and in such order, as may seem desirable to the Chief Adept.

Appendix III

* * *

W. B. Yeats (Demon Est Deus Inversus)

The Second Order diary entries for W. B. Yeats's initiation on 20-21 January 1893 will be found on p. 97 above. The other diary entries in which his motto is mentioned, with the exception of the one for 21 May 1892 (see p. 92 above) are printed below.

Other mottoes in alphabetical order: *Amore* (Mrs Carden), *Fide* (A. J. Carden), *Fidelis* (Mrs Hamilton), whom Yeats introduced to the G.D. in June 1891, *Fortiter* (Annie Horniman), *L.O.* (Percy Bullock), *N.O.M.* (Westcott), *Resurgam* (Dr Berridge), *S.A.* (Westcott), *Shemeber* (Pamela Carden), *S.S.D.D.* (Florence Farr).

5 Dec. 1892. Letter from Demon re Lawrence [i.e. Katherine B. Lawrence, of Dublin, who did not join the G.D.].

28 Dec. S.S.D.D. at 4 till 6. Took altar diagram Lecture for Yeats, 3 Blenheim Road, Bedford Park.

1893

Tues. 30 May. Council of Adepts 3.30 N.O.M., S.S.D.D., Fidelis, Fortiter, Demon.

Fri. 16 June. DEDI here from about 3 to 10 [i.e. at Clipstone Street].

Mon. 19 June. DEDI from 8.30 to about 11.

Wed. 28 June. DEDI 1 and from 6 to 10.

Sun. 9 July. L.O. and Demon—at work.

Fri. 14 July. DEDI 2 p.m.

Thurs. 20 July. DEDI at 6.

Fri. 21 July. DEDI here at 7.

Sat. 22 July. [Westcott] issued [Flying Roll] XII to Yeats, Rand etc. Adepts [Meeting] 3.0. S.A., L.O., DEDI, Fide, Resurgam.

Sun. 23 July. S.A., L.O., S.S.D.D., DEDI, Resurgam.

Fri. 28 July. DEDI here at 2.30. [He may have paid another visit later the same day with Percy Bullock, A. J. Carden,

Appendix III

Pamela Carden. He wrote his name in the same line as the others.]

Tues. 1 Aug. DEDI 6.30. S.S.D.D., L.O.

Fri. 4 Aug. Fide, Amore, L.O., DEDI, S.S.D.D., Shemeber.

Tues. 15 Aug. DEDI at 5 (coming back) to 9.25.

Wed. 16 Aug. DEDI at 8.30.

Wed. 23 Aug. DEDI 4 to 6.15.

Sat. 26 Aug. DEDI.

Tues. 29 Aug. DEDI.

Wed. 30 Aug. DEDI—gone out to lunch.

Thurs. 31 Aug. DEDI 1.

Wed. 6 Sept. DEDI 7 to 9.30

Thurs. 7 Sept. DEDI 1.30 to 5 from 6.30 to (?).

Fri. 8 Sept. DEDI here about 12 to 1.

Sat. 9 Sept. DEDI 11.30. Demon & Co. until 10.45.

Mon. 11 Sept. DEDI 3.30.

Tues. 12 Sept. DEDI, Fide, Shemeber.

Wed. 13 Sept. Demon, S.S.D.D., L.O.

Thurs. 14 Sept. DEDI.

Fri. 29 Dec. L.O.—DEDI at work.

Appendix IV

* * *

The Second Order's Membership Roll

This large parchment document measures about 6 ft. deep by 2 ft. wide. More than half its depth is filled by the hand-lettered text of the Second Order's Oath or Obligation. After the 5° = 6° ceremony the candidate signed the roll with his or her motto and date of admission to the R.R. et A.C. The entries are numbered serially from No. 1 upwards.

Like other documents connected with the G.D.'s early history the roll has a number of suspect features. Three undated 'signatures' precede all the others. They are those for No. 1 'Lux Saeculorum', No. 2 'Lux Benigna' and No. 3 'Lux in Coelis'. In each case there is a childish attempt to disguise the handwriting of whoever wrote them. I suspect that it was Westcott who produced this trio of 'Secret Chiefs' from his magical hat.

No. 4 is 'Sapiens Dominabitur Astris', otherwise Fräulein Sprengel, followed by 'Feb. 10. 1840'. Her admission date is another of Westcott's inventions.

The next six entries, numbered serially from 5 to 10, are for the 7° = 4° and 5° = 6° mottoes of Mathers, Westcott and Woodman in that order. While Woodman undoubtedly signed the Isis-Urania Temple's roll himself, the entries for his 7° = 4° and 5° = 6° mottoes in the Second Order roll were written by someone else—probably Westcott—whose forgeries were nothing less than perfunctory.

It is interesting, too, to observe how Westcott produced two completely different handwritings for himself as No. 6 'Non Omnis Moriar [7° = 4°], March 20, 1890' and No. 9 'Sapere Aude [5° = 6°], Feb. 11. 1888'. Mathers contrived the same effect for his own two mottoes.

No. 11 is the entry for 'Vota Vita Mea' dated 10 October 1888. This was the motto of T. H. Pattinson (Horus Temple, Bradford). No. 12 'Crux Dat Salutem', 1 December 1888, purports to have been signed by Benjamin Cox (Osiris Temple, Weston-super-Mare). One has only to compare Cox's motto on his letters to Westcott and its

appearance on the roll to realise that the latter represents a poor attempt at forgery.

With one exception the next eight signatures are genuine, but the dates are in Westcott's handwriting.

No. 13. Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum (Mina Mathers), 10 September 1889.

No. 14. Virtute Orta Occidunt Rarius (Rev. W. A. Ayton), 31 August 1889.

No. 15. Quam Potero Adjutabo (Mrs Ayton), 31 August 1889.

No. 16. Nil Desperandum (Robert Roy, a member of the Soc. Ros. who resigned before September 1893), 12 September 1889. This entry is in Westcott's handwriting.

No. 17. Resurgam (Dr Edward Berridge), 30 February 1891.

No. 18. Audi et Aude (Frank Coleman, Horus Temple), 6 June 1891.

No. 19. Ciall agus neart (Miss Theresa O'Connell), 10 July 1891.

No. 20. Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data (Florence Farr), 2 August 1891.

My hypothesis is that the roll was not created until late in 1891 when, with the exception of Dr Woodman and Benjamin Cox whose entries were forged, and Robert Roy for whom Westcott signed without attempting to disguise his own handwriting, those who had previously been made nominal 5° = 6° retrospectively appended their mottoes. Annie Horniman (No. 21) was the first to sign her motto *and* the date: 7 December 1891. We know that she was the first to experience the new 5° = 6° ritual (see p. 93).

For details of the 1892-3 'Vault Admissions' see pp. 94-9. Thereafter, according to the roll, the annual totals up to the end of 1899 were:

1894: 9	1897: 17
1895: 12	1898: 11
1896: 24	1899: 5

The increase in the number of admissions in 1896-7 was due to the creation of a second Vault at Edinburgh. Rather more than a hundred individuals experienced the 5° = 6° ceremony between 5 March 1892 and 27 May 1899.

There were only three admissions in 1900, one on 12 January before the great crisis which led to Mathers's expulsion and one each in July and November respectively. There was one admission in

1901, namely W. E. H. Humphrys ('Gnothi Seauton') on 12 March, followed by two in 1902.

It appears that in 1903 the Second Order roll came into Dr Felkin's possession, while the Outer Order roll went to A. E. Waite. There are no further entries on the Second Order roll until February 1906 when 'Per Augusta Ad Astra' (unidentified) and 'Quaero Lucem', the second Mrs Felkin, were admitted. Thereafter, between 11 December 1906 and 22 January 1910 there are only fourteen entries, all of them for members of Felkin's Order, the last being for No. 149 'Ex Oriente Lux' (Neville Meakin).

Appendix V

* * *

Mathers's Ahathoor Temple at Paris

The Ahathoor Temple—Mathers sometimes spelled it Athoor—which Annie Horniman consecrated in January 1894 (see p. 113) was never a large one. Between June 1894 and November 1896 it enrolled eleven members. Most of them were probably expatriate British or Americans. Two married couples who had previously been initiated in England also joined it: Robert Nesbit and his wife, and the Americans James and Theodosia Durand. (For the latter see p. 156.) They were all members of the Second Order.

Miss Kate Sands Staunton, M.D., of Newport, Rhode Island, U.S.A., was initiated on 7 November 1896. There is an entry in Mathers's handwriting in the MS. register of Order members for the period 1888-97: 'Wed. 30 Dec. 1896 Became suddenly insane after having passed exam for 1 = 10.'

Hitherto there has been no evidence that Mathers had any close contacts with French occultists. However, Dr Gérard Encausse who, under the well-known pseudonym 'Papus', was the leading French occult publicist from c. 1890 until his death in 1917, became a member of Ahathoor in March 1895, but perhaps only in an honorary capacity. There was also Eugène Jacob, otherwise known as Dr Ely Star, who joined on 22 August 1896 and who reached the 3° = 8° grade by the following November. He appears to have earned his living by the sale of magical amulets and medical practice of a dubious nature. He was prosecuted for fraud in 1914 and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. His wife, who was a professional exponent of cartomancy, joined Ahathoor in November 1896.

Appendix VI

* * *

Short List of Mottoes

The following mottoes, with translations, were those of about twenty of the more important members of the G.D. The source of a few mottoes, such as 'Shemeber' (Pamela Carden, later Mrs Percy Bullock) and 'Ma Wahanu Thesi' (M. W. Blackden) has not been identified.

Anima Pura Sit. Let the soul be pure: Dr H. Pullen Burry.

Ciall Agus Neart (*Irish*). Intelligence and strength: Miss Theresa Jane O'Connell.

Demon Est Deus Inversus. The devil is the converse of God: W. B. Yeats.

Deo Duce Comite Ferro. With God as my leader and the sword as my companion: Mathers's 7° = 4° motto.

De Profundis Ad Lucem. From the depths to the light: F. L. Gardner.

Finem Respice. Have regard to the end: Dr R. W. Felkin.

Fortiter Et Recte. Bravely and justly: Annie Horniman.

Iehi Aour. (Hebrew) Let there be light: Allan Bennett.

Levavi Oculos. I will lift up mine eyes: Percy Bullock.

Magna Est Veritas Et Praelavebit. Great is the truth and it shall prevail: Dr W. R. Woodman's 5° = 6° motto.

Non Omnis Moriar. I shall not wholly die: Dr W. W. Westcott's 7° = 4° motto.

Perdurabo. I will last through: Aleister Crowley.

Resurgam. I shall rise again: Dr E. Berridge.

Sacramentum Regis. The sacrament of the King: A. E. Waite.

Sapere Aude. Dare to be wise: Dr W. W. Westcott's 5° = 6° motto.

Sapiens Dominabitur Astris. The wise man/woman will be ruled by the stars: Fräulein Sprengel.

Sapientia Sapienti Dono Data. Wisdom is given to the wise as a gift: Florence Farr.

'S Rioghail Mo Dhream (*Scots-Gaelic*). Royal is my tribe: Mathers's 5° = 6° motto. In the past it has usually been translated as 'Royal is my race' but Mr Owen Dudley Edwards, University of

Appendix VI

Edinburgh, assures me that 'tribe' is a more accurate rendering.

Sub Spe. Under hope: J. W. Brodie-Innes.

Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum. No traces behind—a condensation of Horace, *Epistles*, I, i, 75, meaning that the past leaves no traces:

Mina/Moina Bergson, later Mrs Mathers.

Vigilate. Be Watchful: Mrs Helen Rand.

Vincit Omnia Veritas. Truth rules all: Dr W. R. Woodman's 7° = 4° motto.

Virtute Orta Occident Rarius. Those that rise by virtue rarely fall: Rev. W. A. Ayton.

Index

* * *

- Accessories, ritual, xiv-xv
- Adams, Daisy, 239
- Adams, Rose, 202-3
- Adeptus Exemptus grade, 16, 17, 21
- Adeptus Major grade, 16, 77*n*
- Adeptus Minor grade, 16, 17, 53, 76, 77, 100
- Ahathoor Temple No. 7, 35, 36, 49, 113, 126, 155*n*, 156, 178, 183, 198, 203, 204, 217, 295
- Aitken, Andrew P., 144, 191
- Aitken, Georgina, 144
- Alchemy, xxii, 23, 44, 62-3, 193
- Alexander, George, 90
- Alliette, 29
- Alpha and Omega Temple, 267
- Altar, xiii-xiv
- Amen-Ra Temple, 49, 52, 54, 70, 93, 98, 100, 126, 142, 144, 168, 177, 199, 232, 239, 240, 267, 269
- Ananda, Swami Vive, *see* Horos, Mrs
- Andreae, Johann Valentin, 79*n*
- Anthroposophical Society, 262, 265*n*, 277, 281
- Aribert of Anhalt, Princess, 236
- Astrology, xvi, xxii, 44, 66, 111, 156*n*, 168, 169, 289
- Atherton, J. L., 189
- Atkinson, George, 95
- Arwood, Mary, 190*n*
- Ayton, W. A., 20, 29, 31, 32, 50, 55, 61-4, 73*n*, 93, 95, 146-7, 149, 169, 217-18, 253, 293
- Ayton, W. A., Mrs., 20, 61-2, 93, 95, 147, 293
- Baker, Julian L., 143, 151, 154, 169, 193, 194, 219, 227, 240
- Bates, Emily, 73
- Bennett, Allan, xv, xviii, 105-6, 141, 143, 150-1, 155, 187, 192-5, 206-7, 232*n*
- Ben Shemesh, Ara, 260-1, 264-5, 274, 277, 282
- Bergier, Jacques, 285
- Bergson, Henri, 64, 113*n*
- Bergson, Mina, *see* Mathers, Mina
- Berridge, C. M., 119*n*, 153, 174
- Berridge, Dr Edward, 45*n*, 51, 64-5, 71, 76*n*, 88, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 113, 115, 117, 119-21, 134, 136, 173-4, 176-8, 180, 186, 222-3, 226-7, 232, 234, 236-7, 243, 245-6, 267, 290, 293
- Besant, Annie, 55*n*, 111, 148, 190*n*, 262
- Birchall, Peter, 277
- Birven, Dr Henri, 10*n*
- Blackden, Marcus Worsley, 211, 220, 222, 227, 228, 230, 232, 251, 252, 256, 257, 258
- Black magic, xxiii, xxiv, 48, 167, 174, 176, 180, 193, 195, 278
- Blackwell, Anna, 98, 143
- Blackwood, Algernon, 52, 70, 70*n*
- Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna, xvii, xxiii, 7-8, 39-41, 47, 54-5, 62, 69, 111, 117, 145-6, 165, 190*n*, 204, 216, 222, 241, 262, 284; *Isis Unveiled*, 117; *Secret Doctrine*, 40; *see also Lucifer*; Theosophical Society
- Bois, Jules, 159, 200-1
- Borthwick, Hon. Miss Gabrielle, 50
- Brémont, Countess de, 50
- Brettle, John W., 97, 143
- Briggs, Mary, 181*n*
- Brodie-Innes, F. A., Mrs, 126, 142, 144

- Brodie-Innes, J. W., xviii, 70n, 94, 98, 114n, 126, 136, 142, 144n, 164, 168, 177, 190, 191, 244-7, 251-8, 265, 266-70
- Buhna, Count Franz Otto, 50, 73, 153n
- Bullock, Pamela, 98, 99, 100, 102n, 103, 136, 137, 152n, 155, 168, 170, 173, 177, 290
- Bullock, Percy, 37n, 64, 71, 76n, 92, 94-103, 134, 136, 137, 148, 149, 152n, 155, 168, 177, 199, 205, 211-12, 214-15, 217-18, 225, 227, 237, 242, 246-7, 251-3, 290
- Bulwer-Lytton, Edward (Lord Lytton), 32, 39; *Strange Story*, 159; *Zanoni*, 31, 32, 33, 159
- Burry, Dr Henry Pullen, 51-2, 102n, 136, 143n, 153, 168, 182, 184, 186, 199-200
- Burry, Henry Pullen, Mrs, 143, 200
- Butler, Miss, 251
- Cabbala(h), xxii, 8, 31, 33, 34, 40, 44, 46, 114, 146, 147
- Capell, James Partridge, 53
- Carden, Alexander James, 97-8, 100, 102n, 290
- Carden, Anne, 97, 99, 100, 123, 290
- Carden, Pamela, *see* Bullock, P.
- Carpenter, William, 32, 33
- Cathcart, Agnes, 144, 192, 239
- Cattanach, Andrew, 144
- Chacornac, Paul, 28, 30n
- Champollion, J. F., 2
- Childers, Miss, 271
- Clairvoyance, 228, 280
- Clayton, Fanny, 143
- Clipstone St, 91, 94-7, 101, 102; Vault at, 94-8, 100
- Cobbold, Arthur, 146
- Coburn, Alvin Langdon, 150
- Coffin, T. W., 51
- Coleman, Frank, 293
- Collison, H., 265n, 280, 281
- Colquhoun, Ithell, 156n
- Colville, Colonel Sir Henry, 155n, 236
- Colville, Lady, 155, 236
- Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur, 199-200
- Constant, Alphonse-Louis, *see* Lévi, Eliphas
- Corin, Sidney, 97
- Corpus Christi ceremony, ix, x, 100, 126, 134, 141, 142, 154, 233, 241, 246
- Cox, Benjamin, 52-4, 292
- Cracknell, Maud, 207, 220, 222, 224, 229
- Crawford and Balcares, Earl of, 32
- Crookes, Sir William, 50-1
- Crowley, Aleister, xvi, 39, 48n, 64, 106, 109, 150, 151, 154n, 172n, 192-6, 203n, 218-23, 227-30, 232, 233, 236, 266n, 282n, 285; Mathers and, xvi, xix, 37, 43, 192, 194, 196, 204, 206-9, 219-26, 230-1; Abramelin diary, 37n, 205n, 206-7, 219, 222, 223-4; *Confessions* (ed. Symonds & Grant), xxiiin, xxvii, 64-5, 150, 154n, 172n, 192n, 193, 195, 206n, 208-9, 220, 221; other books, letters, plays, xix, xxiiin, xxiv, 43, 166, 194, 195n, 208, 284; *see also* Equinox
- Cubic Stone, Order of, xvi
- Cypher MS., xvii, 1-12, 16, 22, 28, 34, 62, 216n, 217-18, 255, 265, 282, 285n, 286-7
- Dauthendey, Max, 156
- Davies, Jane Anna, 98
- Dee, John, xiii, xvi
- Denon, Dominique-Vivant, 155
- Dickson, Dr Carnegie, 277, 279
- Dickson, Dr George, 51, 144
- Drummond, Emily, 144
- Drummond, Mary, 144
- Durand, James M., 156, 295
- Durand, Theodosia, 156, 295
- Dyer, Dr Bernard, 151
- Eckenstein, O., 207
- Edwards, E. Bogdan Jastrzebski, 51, 97
- Edwards, Owen Dudley, 296
- Elliott, John Hugh, 143, 257-8
- Emery, Florence Farr, *see* Farr, Florence
- Encausse, Dr Gérard, *see* Papus
- Enger, J., 12, 13

- Enochian system, xiii, 115n, 228
- Equinox ceremony, 19, 53, 62, 95, 111, 112, 146, 184, 186, 189, 277, 279
- Equinox*, xxiiin, 24n, 43n, 48, 82, 106, 109, 166, 193, 194n, 195nn, 203n, 204, 209, 221, 223, 231
- Ervine, St John, 66
- Essinger, A., 13, 14, 19, 21, 196, 213
- Etteilla, 216
- Eusouf, Mahomet, 50
- Falk, Johann F., 46
- Fama Fraternitatis*, 79-82, 87, 88
- Faro, Carlo, 55
- Farquharson-Stuart, Baron, 125
- Farr, Florence, 37n, 92n, 165, 186, 189, 195, 199n, 230n; background, character, 68, 165n; G.D. and, 64, 67, 68n, 70, 93, 102, 166, 168-9, 178, 180-1, 184, 211, 216n, 217, 233, 239; Second Order and, 76n, 93, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 106-8, 115, 134, 136, 143, 153-4, 164, 170, 172-4, 208, 209-10, 214, 220, 224-5, 227-30, 240, 250, 290, 292; Shaw and, 67, 68nn; Sphere Group, xviii, 170, 234, 244, 247, 250-1; Yeats and, 67-8, 103, 211
- Farr, Dr William, 165n
- Felkin, Mrs Ethel, 258, 260, 265, 266, 268, 269, 270, 273-6, 279-80, 294
- Felkin, Mrs Mary, 143, 240
- Felkin, Dr R. W., 70n, 94, 240n, 242n, 279, 281, 282; G.D. and, 18, 52 199-200, 240-2, 252, 255, 255n, 265; Second Order and, xv, 246n, 247, 254, 259, 261, 265-6, 279, 294; Sphere Group and, 244-5, 250-1; Sprengel, Anna (real person) and, 256-7, 261-2, 268; Steiner, Rudolph and, 262, 264-7, 270, 274, 279-80; Stella Matutina and, 253, 257, 260, 264, 269, 273-4, 276-7, 280; Third Order and, 240-2, 246, 251, 259-61, 263, 270-2, 275-6
- Firth, Oliver, 111n
- Firth, Walter, 111n
- Fitzgerald, Rev. J. C., 274
- Freemasonry, 1, 7, 11, 56, 71, 73, 256, 263, 274
- Fryar, Robert, 30n, 37n
- Fulham-Hughes, Reena, 143, 170, 183, 197, 228
- Gardner, Frederick Leigh, xviii, 32, 34, 55, 62, 64, 105, 137, 144n, 239, 240; background, character, 145-6, 185; Horniman, A. and, 137-45, 149, 164, 181, 186; G.D. and, xxiv, 67, 102n, 145-52, 170, 173, 176-7, 180-2, 197, 199, 205, 211, 217, 234; Mathers and, 40, 82n, 137-8, 145, 154-8, 160-3, 166, 172, 175-8, 180, 182, 183-9, 197, 198-9, 232n, 234, 237; Second Order and, 24n, 77, 88, 106-7, 115, 137-8, 144, 151, 153, 162, 164, 183-4, 186, 189, 190, 216, 234; writings, 156n
- Gardner, F. L., Mrs, 146-7, 158
- Gardner, J. K., 98
- Gaucher, André, 202, 232n
- Gebhardi, Otto, 284
- Geomancy, xvi, 88, 289
- Gillison, Jean, 143
- Goesch, Heinrich, 264n
- Gonne, Maud, 51, 67, 70-1, 125, 193
- Grade structure of G.D., 15-16
- Gregorius, Gregor A., 282n
- Gregory, Lady, 112n, 233
- Grosche, Eugen, 282n
- Guénier, M., 170
- Hall, Evelyn, 206, 207
- Hall, Lady, 109, 223
- Hamilton, Lina Bowatt, 92, 96, 99, 101, 102n, 290
- Hammond, Dr W., 277, 279, 282
- Harris, Joel, 285
- Harris, Thomas Lake, 45, 65, 117, 119, 120n, 174, 223
- Harrison, F. D., 111-12
- Harvey, James, 285
- Haweis, Mary, 143
- Heazell, Rev. F. N., 268, 279
- Hennequin, Marceline, 113
- Herbert, Ivor, Hon. Mrs, 50
- Hervey, John, 27
- Heym, Gerard, 24n

- Hill, John, 98
 Hill, Lucille, 232
 Hilliger, Francis, xxvii, 35-6
 Himmler, Heinrich, 26n, 285n
 Hitler, 284n
 Hockley, Frederick, 10, 23, 30, 32, 33
 Hoffmann, Ida, 282n
 Holland, Frederick, 31, 38, 39
 Home, D. D., 32
 Hone, Joseph: *W. B. Yeats*, 67, 69n, 113n, 115
 Horniman, Annie, xviii, 69, 173, 174, 200, 205, 237; character, 66, 68, father and, 66, 234; G.D. and, 51; 61, 64, 66-7, 74, 102n, 110-12, 126, 197, 233-4, 295; Mathers and, 41, 65, 66, 91-3, 95, 104-5, 110-13, 115-26, 133-45, 155, 158, 159, 163, 176, 178, 196, 191, 197-8, 238, 243, Second Order and, 94, 99, 101; 104-5, 115-16, 183, 227, 228, 235, 238-41, 244-5, 247-51, 290, 293, expulsion from, 135-8, 140, 158; 184, 197, 243; reinstatement petition, 139-44, 176; theatre and, 66-7, 103, 251
 Horniman, F. J., 65, 66, 234
 Horos, Mr, 202-3, 204, 205, 222, 223, 237-41, 241, 242
 Horos, Mrs, x, 202-5, 211, 222, 223, 237-41, 242, 244
 Horus Temple No. 5, 49, 54, 55, 93, 96, 100, 110-12, 140, 155n, 168, 186, 189-90, 196, 230n, 232, 292, 293
 Hübbe-Schleiden, Wilhelm, 262
 Hughes, Miss C. E., 271
 Humphrys, W. E. H., 207, 219, 294
 Hunter, E. A., 152n, 208, 211, 214, 219, 220, 224-9, 232, 240, 251
 Hunter, Harriette Dorothea, 143, 152n, 211, 214, 219, 228, 232, 240, 251
 Hunter, William Sutherland, 144
 Ipsissimus grade, 16, 17, 24n
 Irwin, F. G., xxviii, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39n, 52-4
 Isis Movement, 200-2, 203, 205, 209, 211
 Isis-Urania Temple, xviii, xxv, 1, 4, 5, 6, 18-20, 24, 47-52, 56-7, 64, 66, 71, 97, 102, 126, 137, 140, 143, 151n, 152, 153, 164, 165, 181-5, 189, 195, 210-12, 222, 226, 228, 233-5, 239, 240, 252, 258, 267, 273, 292
 Isis-Urania Temple No. 3, 232, 234, 237, 245
 Jacob, Eugène (Ely Star), 295
 Jennings, Hargrave, 31, 71
 Johnson, F. J., 97, 143, 182
 Jones, A. Cadbury, 277
 Jones, C. S., 207
 Jones, George Cecil, 61n, 151, 193, 194, 206, 207, 212, 214, 219, 222, 232n
 Jones, Sidney, 52
 Jung, C. G., xv
 Junior Adept grade, 57
 Kadmon, Adam, xiii
 Kelley, Edward, xvi
 Kelly, Sir Gerald, 219, 232
 Kelly, Rose, 219
 Kennedy, Florence, 96, 99, 102, 126, 140, 141, 143, 170, 173, 182, 197, 251
 King, Francis Xavier, xxvii; *Ritual Magic in England*, xxin, xxiiin, 28n, 50n, 131n, 240n, 265n, 266n, 274n, 277n, 283; other writings, publications, 76n
 Kingsford, Anna Bonus, 39, 142, 190n
 Kirby, W. F., 40, 152n, 197, 240
 Kuentzel, Martha, 284
 Kully, Pastor M., 281, Landrieux, M., 281
 Langridge, Minnie Constance, 98
 Lees, Frederic, 201
 Lemon, T. W., 50
 Lepsius, C. R., 27n
 Lévi, Eliphas, 9, 14, 17-18, 23-5, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37n, 46, 71, 148, 159, 216; *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie*, 2, 3, 18
 'Licht, Liebe, Leben' Temple, 15, 23, 24
 Little, Robert Wentworth, 26-7, 31, 33, 37, 44

- Lucifer*, 47-8
 Machen, Arthur, 52, 285
 Mackenzie, Alexandrina, 28, 50
 Mackenzie, K. R. H., 8, 10, 25, 27-33, 39n, 61, 159, 263n; Society of Eight, 31; *Game of Tarot*, 30n; *Royal Masonic Cyclopadia*, 2, 9, 23, 39
 Mackenzie, M., Mrs, 276
 Macrae, Cecilia, 96, 99, 100, 102, 126, 143, 184, 251
 Maffroy, Countess de, 203
 Magister grade, 16, 17, 24n
 Magus grade, 16, 17, 24n
 Maitinsky, Mrs, 152-3
 Maitland, Edward, 40
 Mallarmé, Stéphane, 114
 Mander, Miss, 256
 Marcus, Dr, 262
 Marie-Louise, Princess, 236
 Martyn, Richard Westcott, 36
 Mathers, Mina, xvi, 18, 20, 38, 41, 49, 64-6, 69, 70, 76n, 77n, 91-6, 99, 101, 110-24, 128, 131, 134, 136, 140, 149, 154, 156, 157, 163, 164, 175-6, 179-80, 187, 200-1, 220, 223n, 235, 243, 293
 Mathers, Samuel Liddell MacGregor, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 65n, 71, 113n, 223n, 230n, 274; achievements, xvi, 34, 42n, 43, 208; background, character, x, 37-44, 112, 114, 115, 127, 141, 208; Cypher MS. and, 1-5, 12, 22, 286-7; death, 41, 283; G.D. and, xv, xxii, xxiii, 16, 22, 34, 37, 45, 48, 49, 54, 57, 59, 61, 70, 72, 102n, 113, 148n, 169, 174, 192, 205, 212, 221, 232, 238, 255, 258-9, 265, 267, 270; Isis Movement, 200-2, 203, 205, 209, 211; marriage, 64, 66; in Paris, 39, 41, 64, 75, 91-6, 102n, 110, 113-14, 117-38, 154-6, 169, 170-3, 175, 178, 183, 186, 199n, 200-3, 205, 206, 209, 220-4, 226, 229, 244; politics, 112, 114, 116, 126, 176-9, 191; Second Order and, ix-x, xii, xvii, 57, 75-9, 81-5, 89, 93, 94, 96, 99, 100, 101, 118, 126-42, 154, 166, 170, 198, 208, 209-10, 214-17, 219, 220-2, 224, 226, 228, 242-5, 250, 261, 267, 288-9, 292, 293; Secret Chiefs and, xvii-xviii, 16-17, 210, 216, 231, 241; Soc. Ros. and, 8, 26, 38, 47-8, 56, 266, 270; Westcott and, 11, 35, 37-8, 75, 131, 136-7, 166, 167-8, 184, 190, 192, 196-8, 204, 210-12, 218, 232n, 235, 237, 239, 242-3, 246, 268; *Book of the Sacred Magic of Abra-Melin the Sage*, xvi, 135n, 137, 145, 158, 159-61, 164, 169, 171-2, 172n, 175-6, 178-80, 184, 185, 187-9, 196, 199; *Kabbalah Unveiled*, 38, 40, 41, 42, 91, 193; other writings 41, 43; see also Crowley, Aleister; Horniman, Annie; Gardner, F. L.; Yeats, W. B.
 Mathers, William M., 37
 Mattei, Count Caesar, 51
 Mead, G. R. S., 55n
 Meakin, Neville, 264-5, 266n, 270, 275, 276, 294
 Meyrink, Gustav, 10
 Millard, William, 53
 Minson, George, 143
 Moffat, Kate R., 144, 283
 Molloy, J. H. Fitzgerald, 52
 Mommsen, Gustav, 46
 Moore, Virginia, 69
 Morris, H. C., 143, 173-5
 Morris, May, 165
 Moses, Rev. W. Stainton, 31, 32, 33
 Murray, Grace, 96, 97
 Murray, Oswald, 94, 100, 114
 Neophyte grade, x, 11, 16, 23, 24, 50, 193, 215
 Nisbet, Robert B., 154, 155, 204, 295
 Nunn, Dr Edward Smith, 52-3
 Oakley, Mrs Cooper, 111
 O'Connell, Theresa Jane, 49, 93, 94, 96, 104, 105, 293
 Oedenkoven, Henri, 282n
 Offer, Miss, 65
 O'Leary, John, 69, 114, 125n
 Osiris Temple No. 4, 49, 52-4, 292
 Oyley, Marquis D', 162

- Paget, Henrietta, 92, 143, 199*n*, 228, 240, 251
 Pallandt, Baroness de, 50
 Papus, 29*n*, 30*n*, 295
 Pasteur, Louis, 40
 Pattinson, T. H., 35, 45*n*, 53, 54, 55, 93, 94, 112, 140, 189-90, 196, 230*n*, 292
 Pauwels, Louis, 285
 Peck, William, 70*n*, 100, 126, 140, 168, 190, 191, 239, 240
 Pels, C., 14
 Philosophus grade, 3, 16, 50, 58, 59, 194
 Pogson, Rex, 66
 Pollexfen, George, 51, 143
 Pollitt, Herbert, 206*n*
 Portal grade, 58, 77-8, 97, 98, 164, 221, 233, 275
 Practicus Adeptus Minor grade, x, 288-9
 Praeger, William, 92
 Ragon, Jean-Baptiste, 23, 25
 Rand, Helen, 94, 96, 99, 120, 136, 137, 140, 143, 155, 156, 168, 183, 205, 228, 233, 251, 257
 Reason, Rev. Will, 279
 Redway, George, 41, 158, 159-61, 163
 Regardie, Dr I., xxvii; *Eye in the Triangle*, 192*n*; *Golden Dawn*, xxi, 3*n*, 58-60, 77, 82, 88-9, 104, 115*n*, 150, 286; *My Rosicrucian Adventure*, xxiii
 Reuss, Theodor, 263, 266*n*, 282, 284, 285*n*
 Rimmer, Mark Cubbon, 196
 Ritchie, Mr, 155
 Rohmer, Sax, 285
 Rolfe, Frederick, 37, 39
 Rosenkreuz, Christian, ix, xviii, 21, 23, 79-82, 85, 87, 95, 260, 264, 266, 271, 274-6, 278, 282
 Rosher, Charles, 106-7, 143, 154, 166, 194, 203*n*, 228, 232
 Rosicrucian Society of England, *see* Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (Soc. Ros.)
 Rothschild, Alphonse de, 163
 Rowley, Mrs, 203
 Roy, Robert, 293
 Russell, George (Æ), 233
 Sandrieux, Mr, 265*n*
 Sanitary Wood Wool Co., 13, 93, 94, 101, 147, 196-7
 Schlag, Oskar, xxvii, 6-7, 15, 22
 Schuré, Edouard, 280-1
 Schwarz-Bostunisch, Gregor, 281
 Scott, Maria Jane Burnley, 98, 234
 Scott, Robert, 211
 Secret Chiefs, x, xvii, xviii, 7, 15, 16, 17, 24*n*, 127-31, 140-1, 144, 177, 209, 210, 215, 216, 227-8, 231, 235, 240, 241, 244, 255, 257, 258, 260, 264, 270, 282, 283, 292
 Severs, Ada, 277
 Sewell, Charlie, 104-5
 Sex, xv, 58, 65, 68, 117-23, 223, 266*n*
 Shaw, G. B., 67, 68*nn*, 165*n*; *Arms and the Man*, 103
 Simonsen, J. Hermann, 50
 Simpson, Mrs Alice, 109, 220, 223, 226, 232
 Simpson, Miss Elaine, 219-20, 222-4, 226, 229, 232
 Sinnett, A. P., 7
 Sivers, Marie von, 263, 281
 Slater, J. Herbert, 164
 Smith, Col. James Webber, 98, 99, 136, 197, 227-8, 257, 277
 Sneyd, Tunstall, 185
 Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (Soc. Ros.), xvii, 8, 10, 15, 16, 26-33, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45*n*, 46-8, 50-6, 71, 98, 117, 146, 148, 152, 237, 256, 266, 277
 Society for Psychical Research, 50
 Spiritualism, 7, 26, 28, 32, 33, 36*n*, 131*n*, 147
 Sprengel, Alice, 262*n*, 268, 281, 282
 Sprengel, Anna (real person), 256-7; Westcott and, 261-2, 268, 280
 Sprengel, Anna ('S.D.A.'), 6-7, 10*n*, 16, 64, 204, 222, 244, 257, 259, 262, 268, 280, 281, 282, 285; Westcott and, xvii, 1, 4, 5-7, 9, 10, 12-15, 17, 18-19, 22, 25, 28, 35, 48, 49, 210-11, 215, 217, 292; letters, xvii, xxvii,

- Sprengel *cont.*
 4-7, 13, 15, 17-21, 22, 215, 217, 234-5, 242, 265, 268, 282
 Star, Ely (Eugène Jacob), 295
 Stainton, Kate Sands, 295
 Steiger, Juliette de, 142, 144, 190-1, 240
 Steiner, Rudolph, 50, 190*n*, 262-6, 268, 270, 274, 279-82
 Steinhoff, Fräulein, 256, 261
 Stella Matutina, xviii, xxiii*n*, 5, 69, 253, 257, 260, 264, 265, 267, 268, 273-6, 277, 279-80, 283
 Stoddart, Miss C. M., xxiii*n*, 260*n*, 265*n*, 266, 268, 270-3, 274, 277-80, 282-3
 Stoddart, Walter MacGregor, 40, 162-3, 172
 Stoker, Bram, 285
 Studtmann, Dr, 256
 Sultan of Turkey, 162
 Tarot, xvi, xxii, 2, 29, 30, 44, 60, 62, 84, 86, 88, 102, 146-7, 153, 156, 169, 216, 219, 228, 289
 Thavies Inn, 91, 94, 95, 101
 Thèbes, Madame de, 200*n*
 Theobald, Robert Masters, 51, 65, 92
 Theoricus Adeptus Minor grade, xxii, 3, 16, 77, 104, 115-16, 117, 118, 126-7, 137, 157, 162, 164, 170, 193, 216, 238, 241, 257, 268, 269, 289
 Theosophical Society, xxiii, 7, 8, 39, 40, 45*n*, 54-5, 70, 111, 145, 146, 148, 149, 153, 165, 216, 262, 264
 Thiesen, Dr, 75
 Thomas, Robert Palmer, 32, 73-4, 251, 257
 Tingley, Mrs, 204
 Todhunter, Dr John, 51, 67, 98, 103, 240
 Tree of Life, x-xii, xxii, 2, 16, 59, 82, 84, 234, 247, 275
 Trithemius, Johann, 11
 Tuckey, Dr Charles Lloyd, 51
 Tweedale, Violet, 52
 Verlaine, Paul, 114
 Vincey, Leo, *see* Crowley, A.
 Waite, A. E., xviii, xxv, 1, 30*n*, 41, 70*n*, 93, 253-6, 258, 262, 273, 276, 277, 294; *Book of Black Magic and Pacts*, 193; *Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross*, 26*n*, 28, 81*n*; *Shadows of Life and Thought*, xxiii, 2-5, 11, 28, 34, 42*n*, 45, 84-5, 252-3, 256, 262*n*, 264*n*, 266, 273*n*; *Unknown World* (periodical), 120*n*, 152, 190*n*
 Walleen, Baron C. A., 50, 265*n*, 266*n*
 Waters, Ada, 140, 143, 164-6, 173, 251
 Watkins, John M., 149, 187-9
 Weida Conference, 284
 Wendt, Dr Heinrich, 281-2
 Westcott, Dr William Wynn, xxii, xxiii, 28*n*, 29-33, 55, 55*n*, 64, 71, 74, 98, 263*n*, 269, 276; background, character, mottoes, xvii, 35-7, 292; Cypher MS. and, xvii, 1-10, 12, 28, 34, 62, 217-18, 285*n*; G.D. and, 5, 8, 15, 22, 33, 34, 37, 38, 45-53, 61, 64, 65, 72, 101, 102, 110-11, 113, 135, 148-9, 152, 165-9, 170, 173, 185, 191, 192, 197, 198, 200, 205, 213, 268; handwriting, xxvii, 5, 13, 35; Isis-Urania Temple No. 3 and, 237, 245; last years, 283-4; Second Order and, 16, 17, 21, 35, 48, 57, 75, 76*n*, 82, 94-101, 115-16, 118*n*, 120, 121, 123, 144, 161, 164, 183, 186, 196, 212, 230, 235, 240, 245, 250, 288-9, 290; Soc. Ros. and, 8, 16, 17, 26-7, 36, 270, 277; *see also* Mathers, S. L. M., Sprengel, Anna
 White magic, xxiii
 Wilde, Mrs Constance Mary, 50, 73
 Wilde, Oscar, 50
 Wilkinson, C. E., 183, 224, 225-6
 Williams, William, 98
 Wilson (chemist), 62
 Wilson, Thomas, 94
 Woodford, Rev. A. F. A., 3, 5-6, 8-10, 12, 45-6, 75
 Woodman, Dr W. R., 1-4, 8, 15, 16-21, 26, 33, 34-5, 37, 38, 44, 48, 49, 51, 57, 213, 235, 241, 270, 292, 293
 Wright, Francis, 98, 143, 170, 197, 234
 Yarker, John, 29, 30*n*, 263*n*

Index

Yeats, William Butler, 59, 61, 92*n*, 235, 280; Crowley and, 192, 194-5; G.D. membership, xxii, 43, 51, 52, 61, 67, 69-71, 92, 112*n*, 113, 217, 233-4, 255, 273, 285; Mathers and, xvi, xxii, 42-3, 43*n*, 69, 112, 114-15, 125*n*, 130*n*, 203, 230, 238, 283; Second Order and, 97, 100, 101, 102, 213-14, 225-8, 238-9, 251, 256, 290-1; Stella Matutina and, 268-9, 279, 283; Theosophical

Society and, 7, 69, 70; *Autobiographies*, xxiin, xxiiin, 42-3, 61, 68, 69, 112, 114, 130*n*, 283; other writings, plays, 70, 100, 103, 239*n*; *see also* Farr, Florence

Yorke, Gerald, xxiv, xxvii, 10*n*, 23*n*, 24*n*, 28*n*, 36, 145, 205*n*, 281-2, 284

Zelator grade, 2, 16, 31, 38*n*, 77, 88, 129, 132, 133, 157, 193, 207, 258

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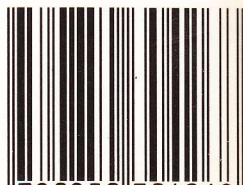
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